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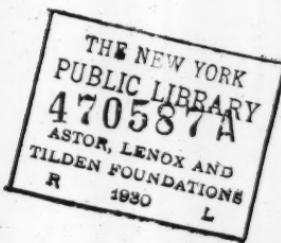
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THE  
QUARTERLY REVIEW

No. 499.—JANUARY, 1929.

Art. 1.—IN MEMORIAM: JOHN MURRAY IV.

IT would be impossible for this number of the 'Quarterly Review' to be issued without some tribute of sorrowing pride and affection being paid to the memory of Sir John Murray, to whom the Review was certainly the favourite of his manifold professional interests. His last thoughts, so far as they were concerned with his working-life, were of the Quarterly. A fortnight before the end came, in a brief return to consciousness, he asked for the slip-proofs of this number to be sent to him; and then, again comatose, rested with them clasped in his hand. And his last positive happiness resulted from the knowledge that his son and successor was to contribute his first article to these January pages, and so, in that way also, was to carry on the unique continuity of the Murrays of Albemarle Street.

He was so vital, tireless as it seemed, eager, interested in all things, and ever-ready to throw himself with zest at the call into the service of any cause which he felt was for good. He belonged to the happy company of those who are never at a loss for a fresh interest to occupy their working and leisure hours. Some might assert that it would have been better if he had taken things less strenuously; but who, knowing him, can confidently say that it was so? A vital man must follow his bent; and always the bent of Sir John Murray was towards kindly and dutiful service. He never shirked, and unfailingly he 'played the game.' So rich was he in energy and life that it still is not possible to feel that

Vol. 252.—No. 499.

he will not again be seen along the familiar ways. Instinctively, as one passes the open door of his room in '50A,' one looks for the heaps of papers on floor and chair which proclaimed that he was already at work on the other side of his tall desk.

In spite of the heavy routine and infinite detail of his business as a publisher, he always took a close and continuous interest in the conduct of this Review. For the brief interregnum from the death of Sir William Smith to the opening of the reign of Mr Rowland Prothero he edited it himself; and after the death, in 1922, of Lord Ernle's brother and successor, Sir George Prothero, he again assumed the prime editorial control. But his work for the Quarterly began in one most valuable particular shortly after he joined the Firm, fifty-four years ago; when he spent many and long hours in search of the identity of the authors of articles in the earlier days; for so rigorously had the rule of their anonymity been kept that no record of them had been made, and actually until some thirty years ago contributors were paid with 'Bearer' cheques, made out to the writer of Article 'No. 1,' of 'No. 2,' and so on; and no kind of signature of receipt or endorsement was required. There still are gaps in that private record, but not many; and it is fortunate that Sir John in the less laborious years, by ransacking volumes and correspondence and his father's remembrance or knowledge, was able to identify most of the earlier Quarterly reviewers; so that now, for instance, we know that amongst them were Charles Lamb, whose possibly Elian essay was improved into hopelessness by Gifford; and John Wilson Croker, mentioned here only because the defence of that misunderstood parliamentarian and writer was a characteristic and frequent practice of Sir John, who knew—as was proved in his little book about his father—that the 'Wenham' and 'Rigby' of Thackeray and Benjamin Disraeli was not the odious creature that we had learnt to believe him. For over a full half-century, it is interesting to note, Croker contributed more than 250 articles to the Quarterly. Evidently the day of the quill-pen could be sometimes as voluminous as this of the galloping typewriter.

Sir John Murray was tireless over detail; and he kept a diary, or daily register, into which the names of callers

and of those to whom letters were written were regularly and precisely entered. That record would be more than sufficient for most people ; but with him, characteristically, there still was more. For he also kept a private diary, making entries even within the last days at Brighton. It is much to be hoped that some day that diary will be published, for it should be of estimable value as personal, literary, and social history. He had, indeed, all the gifts and opportunities of the best diarists—interesting experiences and friends in authority, men and women of power, mind, and charm, who talked to him familiarly and well as he could talk to them ; a sense of character, wit, humour, with ease and deftness of expression. As a letter-writer he belonged to the best. Also he could tell a story excellently, especially a Scots story in dialect.

His friends, in business and out of it, on the whole, it may venturesomely be said, were more than equal in human quality even to those of his famous grandfather. If the one had Byron, the other had Darwin ; and so the balance-sheet of persons might be established in which the account of the fourth John Murray would be richer than that of the second. Memory recalls casual instances : of Mark Twain, the tiny man with the vast head and the dry, unmusical voice, listening enjoyably while John Murray uttered the brightnesses which the reputation of the visitor suggested should rather have come from him ; of Lord Dufferin, newly returned from his Viceroyalty, staring up at the blowsy vulgarity and red conceited face of Byron's mother, as shown in her portrait, and finding there an explanation of the poet's weaknesses and vicissitudes ; of Mr Haldane and Lord Roberts enjoying his and each other's company in a chance call, at the very time when he was publishing the frankly controversial books on National Service which they had written against one another. Of earlier notable acquaintances also he loved to tell when the rush of work was not in full drive ; of the unpleasant George Borrow ; the beneficent Livingstone, wearing his formal consular cap ; of Mr Gladstone with his mind full of manifold interests.

Always there seemed to be with him a resource of eagerness and vitality available for useful service elsewhere. Like others who have lived much-occupied days

he found relief from one kind of work in work of another kind. Often he closed his inkpot—with the click that told surely of his office-work being done—to hurry off to the Hospital for Sick Children or to some other purpose and institution of human helpfulness ; and always where possible he walked, an erect figure, striding out in denial of his well-over seventy years, never lagging or slack. He had a passion for walking, as had his father before him. He declared that the third John Murray would almost have recommended walking as a remedy for a broken leg.

Naturally, for one eager at work he also was active in games. He was a cricketer ; a good shot ; he rode ; he fenced ; at one time he was the Captain of the Wimbledon Golf Club. It is the fact, unusual, if not unique, that he did the hat-trick twice in an innings at Exmouth, in 1875, taking seven of the nine wickets that fell, six of them clean-bowled. Necessarily in the later years his opportunities for open-air exercise were restricted ; but he gained inestimable happiness after his daughter and son-in-law had settled at Wargrave (where by his wish he now is sleeping) in the garden of their house and on the river where he kept a boat. He rowed, and when at the sculls would not stop, at least only the lock could stop him ; and, of course, it was necessary that he should pass every boat ahead of him on the river. At Wargrave also the sunshine of his autumn was strengthened by the jolly company of his grandchildren, who found him sometimes not so much older than they and ready under challenge to keep up his end in a pillow-fight. In London, in later years, the billiard-room at the Athenæum was a source of great enjoyment to him. Pretty well every afternoon—when the inkpot had done its click—he went there to be not merely a keen player but the leading spirit in organising matches and tournaments. In fact, his family used to chaff him that if his boots were put outside the door they would walk of their own accord to the Athenæum.

He could not be idle. When, as sometimes happened, he was compelled by doctor's orders to stay abed, he did so with a reluctance which frequently baffled those who looked after him. It was a busy man's bed, the pillow, counterpane, the chairs alongside, being strewn with

books, proofs, and letters ; while on one occasion in the last few years, when what he was allowed to do was insufficient, he returned to his boyish exercise of learning by heart some of the Odes of Horace. Never was he very far from Eton through all his days.

There were, of course, moments, hours, and days of strain, inevitable with one who used his forces of nerves and body so abundantly. But how true always and instantly kind he was, even when harassed and impatient, if some act of service were asked of him. Never was there hesitancy or refusal if it were possible for him to grant the request. His impulse to generosity also was helpful sometimes in other ways. His interest over points of knowledge was unfailing. He delighted in tracing a point or a quotation to its source, especially in the classics. On one occasion when things were difficult, and promising to go worse, he was instantly restored to his natural good cheer by being bluntly asked, What was the traditional name of the Impenitent Thief ? He smiled, was interested, forgot the stress in the inquiry ; and so to 'glad, confident morning again.'

Difficult as it is to believe this ultimate truth, he has finally gone from the shadows and the sunlight of these active hours ; but he never can go from the thoughts and hearts of those who really knew him. He was splendid in his kindness and his simple loyalties. He will be missed in many places because in those places he was admired and loved ; and it is especially appropriate that in this Review, which always was close to his heart and pride, a thought of gratitude should be expressed for the valuable and strengthening life that he lived.

C. E. L.

## Art. 2.—TWO EMPRESSES.

1. *Letters of the Empress Frederick.* Edited by the Rt Hon. Sir Frederick Ponsonby, G.C.B., G.C.V.O. Macmillan, 1928.
2. *The Life and Tragedy of Alexandra Feodorovna, Empress of Russia.* By Baroness Sophie Buxhoeveden. Longmans, 1928.

FOR the explorer in bypaths of history, a subject of some interest might be the careers of British princesses married abroad to share foreign thrones. He would find how bad luck and tragedy, almost without exception, have beset the paths of these princesses, and it would be curious to discover how far their misfortunes were due to the characters of the victims themselves or how far to circumstances beyond their control.

Of Matilda, daughter of Henry I and wife of the Emperor Henry V, we do not know very much, but at the age of twenty-two she was a childless widow and her subsequent career was stormy and hardly to be called fortunate.

Mary, sister of Henry VIII and wife of Louis XII of France, was a widow within a few months of her marriage, having, it is said, helped to kill her elderly and infirm husband by heedless and exhausting gaieties, though whether, considering the husband, this was a matter of misfortune or not is an open question. As her period abroad was so brief she only partly comes into the category of unfortunate princesses under consideration. With Elizabeth, daughter of James I, Queen of Bohemia, and so-called Queen of Hearts, we find the tragedy of a happy home overwhelmed by disaster, ruin, and exile, and a scattered family, chiefly due to a mistaken though natural desire to enlarge the Electorate of the Palatinate into the Kingdom of Bohemia and even into the Imperial dignity. With Mary, daughter of James II and wife of William of Orange (afterwards our William III), we find the tragedy of the childless wife of an unloving and unfaithful husband entirely immersed in international politics and war and making 'home' a mockery, in spite of the outward material blessings of prosperity here in England.

Coming to modern times, and always excepting the two living English princesses who occupy foreign thrones with such conspicuous success, we find much the same sad story carried on in the lives of the two Empresses whose names appear in the books mentioned at the head of this article. It will naturally be objected that the Empress Alexandra was not a British princess, and technically that is obviously true; but her English mother, Queen Victoria's daughter, Princess Alice, her father's English inclinations, her regular visits to England, her willing subjection to the influence of Queen Victoria, her English nurses and governesses, and lastly the fact that English was the language which came most naturally to her and which she used for choice in writing and conversation, make it not too extravagant a claim to class her as English. Indeed, her English feelings and ideas are much emphasised in Baroness Sophie Buxhoeveden's book.

Here, then, we have two princesses; both of the family of Queen Victoria; both filling exalted positions abroad; both high-principled, conscientious, courageous, and devotedly loyal to the countries in which Providence had placed them; and yet both, for different reasons, beset by the misfortune of being (if with such exalted personages one may use the common expression) round pegs in square holes. In their contrasts, as in their likenesses, they form a most interesting study and suggest idle speculation as to how far history would have been changed if their characters had been transposed, with Victoria the dominant and purposeful and liberal-inclined reformer as the wife of the well-intentioned but weak Nicholas; and Alexandra the shy, home-loving, mystic, loth to take any part in public affairs, as the wife of the eager high-minded Frederick who was always making himself ready for the day of power, which never came.

Many will be grateful to Sir Frederick Ponsonby for the publication of the Empress Frederick's Letters, though some will wonder, in view of the definite injunction of the Empress when handing them over, that 'Willy [the Kaiser] must never know that you have got them.' However, circumstances have arisen which certainly could not have been foreseen in 1901, and possibly the exile of Doorn is so far removed from the All Highest of Potsdam that his private feelings on the subject—and

rumour declares that they are keen—need no longer weigh in the balance against the advantages of publication, to justify the memory of the Empress from the many unfair attacks made on her in Germany. Herein, however, lies the crux of the whole matter. Will these letters enhance the Empress' reputation? The answer is anything but assuredly in the affirmative.

Readers will inevitably be moved by sympathy for the Crown Princess and Empress in the many difficulties which beset her; but it must be admitted that they will also find the tone of the letters somewhat querulous and monotonously dissatisfied. There were constant troubles with higher authority. 'I told you,' writes the Crown Princess in June 1863, 'that Fritz had written twice to the King, once warning him of the consequences that would ensue if the constitution was falsely interpreted to take away the liberty of the Press. The King did it all the same and answered Fritz with an angry letter'—and later in the same year she writes, 'We are dreadfully alone, having not a soul from whom to ask advice. But Fritz's course of duty is so plain and straightforward. . . . A year of silence and self-denial has brought Fritz no other fruits than that of being considered weak and helpless'; and later, 'We are surrounded with spies, who watch all we do, and most likely report all in Berlin in a sense to checkmate all we do.' Years pass but the same trouble goes on, and in December 1870 we find the Crown Prince writing in his diary, 'In Berlin it is now the order of the day to vilify my wife.'

Five years later we find the Crown Princess writing, 'As long as he [Bismarck] lives we cannot ever feel safe or comfortable'; and again in 1878, 'I am perpetually in a pugilistic frame of mind as I have to hear and read so much which is hardly bearable.' By 1886 troubles with her son William are acute, and she complains, 'It is very painful to a soft-hearted Mama to feel so plainly that her own child does not care whether he sees her or no, whether she is well or ill or away, etc.' Again in 1888 comes the sad cry:

'I do love honesty and plain dealing, fairness and simplicity, and one does so long and sigh and pine for it. One is so sick and weary of a system which stoops to means which are so low, even be it wielded by ever so great a man. . . .

How long, how long will all this last!!! I suppose that it is to outlast us and our time!!! Prince Bismarck's power and prestige are greater than ever, the poor dear Emperor is but a shadow and Willy is Prince Bismarck's willing tool and follower."

With the Crown Prince's illness the plaints become more insistent. In October 1887, the Crown Princess writes, 'I am driven wild with the newspapers of Berlin, and dear Ct. Radolinsky keeps writing that people are so angry with me for choosing San Remo—and for not calling in another German doctor. Really it is excessively impertinent of these people!' About the same time she declares, 'You ask how Willy was when he was here, he was as rude, as disagreeable, and as impertinent to me as possible.' Then in November she writes, 'At Berlin they have done what is exceedingly wrong. The Emperor has appointed William to sign all the State papers in his stead . . . without asking Fritz.'

After the old Emperor William's death comes the mournful cry:

'It is an inestimable blessing to be relieved from a thraldom and tyranny which was exercised over us . . . but, oh, if it is not too late, too late! This agonising thought haunts me!! Yes, we are our own masters now, but shall we not have to leave all the work undone which we have been so long and so carefully preparing?'

Soon afterwards she writes to Queen Victoria, 'How much I have to suffer in a thousand ways, you do not know'; and then, after the Emperor Frederick's death, she writes:

'I disappear with him. . . . I would have fought and struggled on! We had a mission; we felt and we knew it—we were Papa's and your children. We were faithful to what we believed and knew to be right. We loved Germany—we wished to see her strong and great, not only with the sword, but in all that was righteous. . . . We tried hard to learn and study and prepare for the time in which we should be called to work for the nation. We had treasured up much experience. Bitterly, hardly bought—that is now all wasted.'

These quotations taken at random from the book give no unfair impression of the pervading sad tone, the

valiant but useless 'kicking against the pricks,' the disappointments that were always galling her. The devotion of and for her husband, as shown in these letters, is truly beautiful and heart-stirring, but outside her inmost home circle she found so much in Germany to criticise and, on the whole, so little to praise, except perhaps German gallantry in war. 'You know,' she writes in 1866, 'I am not blind or prejudiced, but I must say I have the greatest respect and admiration for our soldiers. I think they behave wonderfully.'

With all her striking and fine qualities, her ability, her kind heart and passionate loyalty to her friends and principles, the Empress was dominant, lacking in humour, and intensely sensitive to slights and insults—often imaginary. She was in many ways ahead of her time, and certainly ahead of the ideas of Prussia of the day. She never hesitated to criticise, and in spite of her loyalty to Germany she was intensely English in feeling and thought. She was also (and this mattered to her more than anything) in conflict with Bismarck, who hated the English, liberals, and women in politics. The Empress was all three, and she was in a position of subordination while Bismarck was all-powerful, and amazingly callous of the susceptibilities of any who opposed him.

If the old Emperor William had died fifteen years earlier; if the Emperor Frederick had had the time and opportunity of exercising power and carrying out the many liberal-minded and praiseworthy reforms which he and his wife had planned so long and so fully; if he had lived to control and possibly to influence on healthier lines the character and life of his eldest son; if the Empress, instead of being embittered by long years of difficult waiting in galling subordination, had had the opportunity of mellowing in that fierce, but to some characters not unsatisfying, light which beats upon a throne, how different would probably have been the tone of her letters, and possibly how different would have been the subsequent political development of Germany!

The well-deserved war glory won by the Crown Prince in 1870 was for a time balm to the soul of his wife, already seared by disappointments and stifled opportunities of attaining her ideals and ambitions. The balm passed, but the disappointments remained. The alienation of the

old Emperor William, under the influence of Bismarck, the crushing of all liberal tendencies, the Battenberg marriage fiasco, the unseemly wrangles over Sir Morell Mackenzie and the Emperor's illness, the ninety days' reign of living death, the slights and insults received at the hand of her son (often, it must be admitted, entirely unintentional on his part and due to the complete inability of his mother and himself to understand each other), were all sources of galling trouble to the much-tried Empress and her character, which under happier circumstances would have softened and grown ever finer, was hardened and contracted. Her tragedy lay in her inability either to adapt herself to circumstances or bend them to suit her wishes.

No notice of the book would be complete without a tribute to the editorial powers of Sir Frederick Ponsonby. He has wisely attempted no formal biography, but his linking up of the letters, his notes and explanations, supply everything that the most exacting reader can require. It is only to be regretted that, no doubt for reasons of space, the letters could not be printed in the same larger type as the editorial matter.

Baroness Sophie Buxhoeveden modestly disclaims any literary skill in her work on the life of the Empress Alexandra Feodorovna; but she does herself less than justice, and no fine writing could have made more striking and appealing the tragedy and pathos of the story told.

The Empress Frederick, at any rate, put up a sturdy and determined fight against the circumstances which were stifling her, even though she was not successful.

The Empress Alexandra put up no fight at all. Circumstances from the beginning were too strong, and her shy and retiring nature never allowed her to assume the position which, as Empress of Russia, should have been hers.

Her early years were clouded by the death of her mother. Her marriage was overshadowed by the death of her father-in-law, Alexander III, gloomy mourning for whom was only dropped for the actual marriage and had to be resumed after. Her coronation was marred by the awful disaster of 'Hodynka' when, through mismanagement, hundreds, if not thousands, of luckless sightseers were crushed or trampled to death. The seclusion and

quiet required by the birth of her successive children prevented her from travelling about Russia and getting to know and be known by her people as she would have liked, and from attending the great State functions which as Empress she should have attended, even though she hated them. The misfortune of four daughters when Russia was eagerly looking for a son and heir brought sorrow into her private life, and in her public life sadly diminished any popularity she had. When the long-expected heir came the jubilation of the country was largely neutralised by the disasters of the Russo-Japanese war and the political upheavals at home.

In the following years her continued and increasing ill-health prevented her from filling to any adequate extent the position of the Emperor's wife or from being overshadowed by the dominant personality and physical strength of the Empress Marie, who, by the curious constitution of Russia, on all occasions took precedence, and was mentally and intellectually fully qualified to keep it.

Then came the tragedy of the Cesarevitch becoming a victim to the deadly disease of haemophilia, destroying all happiness and peace of mind in the present and blasting all hope for the future. Out of this misfortune arose the horrible and disastrous influence of Rasputin.

By evil skill or by luck the visitations of that monster coincided with improvements (which would doubtless have come anyway) in the Cesarevitch's health, and when doctors, knowing the dread disease only too well, were depressing he gave false hope. Maternal devotion and religious mysticism combined to bring the Empress under the influence and domination of that devilish 'holy man,' and, once there, neither reasoning, nor advice, nor warning could avail against her blind obsession. This association with Rasputin turned negative popularity into positive unpopularity and prepared the way for the active hatred and vile calumnies which beset her during the war—calumnies which the Revolutionary Government vainly tried to substantiate, and failed entirely in the attempt. All through the pages of this book the unswerving loyalty of the Empress to Russia stands out, but, because she was misunderstood, no one ever had a more bitter reward for loyalty.

It is a curious thought that Bismarck would have thoroughly appreciated her in Germany—her outlook was bounded by the three Prussian ideals for woman's part in life, Church, children, and kitchen ; she never wished to interfere in public affairs, and, indeed, we are told that she never willingly even spoke to her husband about his public work ; her political views, as far as she had any, were purely negative reactionary, to keep the whole fabric of autocracy complete and unimpaired for her husband, and son in the future ; her beauty was impressive and her manner to those who really knew her charming, though afterwards saddened by much trouble. Could Bismarck have chosen a character more suitable, from his point of view, for the Crown Princess of Prussia—and fate gave him instead the Empress Frederick !

When the war came the Empress Alexandra slaved, to the limit of her physical powers and beyond, unflinchingly and unobtrusively at nursing and other work which a stronger woman of lesser degree could have done better ; while the Empress should have been in the limelight of public effort, a guiding beacon set on high to lead and inspire her people. A grim fate seemed to haunt her and cause whatever she did or did not do to be misrepresented. She was accused of countless sins of commission when in reality all that she was guilty of was very minor errings of omission.

Her patience and forbearance when afflictions came were exemplary. The humiliations inflicted on her and her family by the Revolutionary Government and the loss first of all of luxuries, and then of ordinary comforts, and finally of bare necessities, left her calm and uncomplaining. She endured all, lest by murmuring she should make things, already bad, worse for her beloved family. In a humbler sphere of life, as devoted wife and mother, she would have been a shining example of unselfish saintliness and a paragon of domestic virtues, limited perhaps in her outlook and at times obstinate in her convictions, but a radiant influence for good. On the throne, saddened by trouble, misled and mistaken, too shy to take her proper position and misunderstood by those who should most have appreciated her, she was a failure. That is the tragic lesson of Baroness Sophie Buxhoeveden's book.

To sum up, we find these two princesses both high-

principled and courageous, both with devoted husbands and with every material advantage in worldly surroundings to make life happy and successful, both with strong religious convictions, both loyal-minded and anxious to lead useful lives and to help others, and yet both doomed to disappointment, disillusion, and unhappiness. Both were ill-adapted to their circumstances, and both were in the end defeated by those circumstances.

When we look back on the other English princesses mentioned at the beginning of this article we find a wonderful variety of characteristics and a sad uniformity in failing to make a success of life. The pugnacity of Matilda, the heedless sprightliness and wilfulness of Mary, sister of Henry VIII, the lovableness and dangerous attraction and natural, if disastrous, ambitions of Elizabeth of Bohemia, and the silent and uncomplaining home sufferings of Mary, wife of William, seem to have but little in common which can be pointed out as the origin and cause of trouble.

Was it merely by chance that all these princesses were English, or of English inclinations, and would the troubles have been the same with any other princesses? If their characters had been different from what they were, would they have left different stories written in the pages of history or indeed have had such effect on their surroundings as to change the whole course of European history? These are matters of speculation and the questions remain unanswered.

JOHN MURRAY.

**Art. 3.—NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN THE RELATIONS  
BETWEEN THE PAPACY AND THE STATE.**

1. *Una nuova discussione sui rapporti tra Chiesa e Stato in Italia.* R. Ministero degli Affari Esteri. Ufficio Stampa. Rome, 1921.
  2. *La questione romana da Cavour a Mussolini.* By Giacomo Emilio Curatolo. Rome: Libreria del Littorio, 1928.
  3. *Intorno alla questione romana.* Rome: La Civiltà cattolica, 1927.
  4. *Le Pape.* By Jean Carrère. Paris: Plon, 1923.
  5. *Sulla soglia del Vaticano, 1870-1901.* By Giuseppe Manfroni. Two vols. Bologna: Zanichelli, 1920.
  6. *Lo Stato e la Chiesa in Italia.* By Francesco Orestano. Rome: Optima, 1924.
  7. *Il Papato e l'Italia si concilieranno.* By Guido De Luca. Rome: Modernissima, 1928.
  8. *Il Vaticano, l'Italia e la Guerra.* By Ernesto Vercesi. Milan: Mondadori, 1925.
- And other works.

' No other institution is left standing which carries the mind back to the times when the smoke of sacrifice rose from the Pantheon, and when camelopards and tigers abounded in the Flavian amphitheatre. The proudest royal houses are but of yesterday, when compared with the line of the Supreme Pontiffs. . . . The Republic of Venice came next in antiquity. But the Republic of Venice was modern when compared with the Papacy; and the Republic of Venice is gone, and the Papacy remains. The Papacy remains, not in decay, not a mere antique, but full of life and youthful vigour. . . . The number of her (the Catholic Church's) children is greater than in any former age. Her acquisitions in the New World have more than compensated for what she has lost in the old. . . . Nor do we see any sign which indicates that the term of her long dominion is approaching.'

THIS passage written by Lord Macaulay nearly eighty years ago still holds good, in spite of the vast changes which the Papacy has undergone, brought about by the events of 1848-70, and more recently by the World War. The relations between the Papacy and the Italian

State, in whose territory it is situated, since 1870, are of peculiar interest even outside Italy, as they affect the position of the Catholic Church throughout the world. The Fascist revolution has brought about yet further changes in those relations. It may, therefore, be of interest to review the position of the Papacy to-day, especially in connection with its attitude towards the State, and to try to appreciate the new tendencies at work within the Papacy itself with regard to its political position.

The relations between Church and State in Italy cannot be rightly understood unless we bear in mind the policy of the Papacy during the Risorgimento. Until 1870 the Papacy was both a temporal State, like any of the others into which Italy was then divided, and also the government of a universal Church, whose august Head claimed to be and was regarded by millions of Catholics throughout the world as Christ's Vicar on earth. The Papacy claimed that it could not fulfil its universal spiritual mission unless it continued to possess a temporal dominion, and this constituted a grave obstacle to the realisation of the aspirations of the Italian patriots. The immense majority of the Italian people were then, as they are now, Roman Catholics. Many, no doubt, were indifferent and lax in their observance, but few would refuse to describe themselves as members of the Church or reject its sacraments, and none questioned the authority of the Pope in spiritual matters. Yet Italian patriots realised that Italian unity, independence, and freedom could never be achieved as long as the temporal Papal State survived. In the early days of the Risorgimento Gioberti, Balbo, and the other 'Neo-Guelfs' believed in the possibility of an Italian federation with the Pope as President, and for a brief spell Pius IX appeared in the guise of an Italian liberal patriot. But the idyll died at Gaeta and was definitely interred when Pius returned to Rome under the escort of foreign bayonets. After the war of 1859 the Papacy lost all its territories except the city and province of Rome, and even there it could only maintain its authority over its own subjects with the support of a French garrison.

On the withdrawal of the French troops in 1870 the Italian Government, after having tried repeatedly but in

vain to arrive at a friendly settlement with the Papacy, decided to occupy Rome. The Papal garrison, consisting mostly of foreign mercenaries, made a show of resistance, and on Sept. 20, General Cadorna's troops entered the city. A plebiscite confirmed the annexation of the Lazio to Italy by a vast majority, and the Temporal Power came to an end. Pius issued a protest against this 'sacrilegious usurpation,' and while no violence was offered to the Pope, as had been done in the case of former forcible occupations of the Eternal City, he withdrew to the Vatican, whence neither he nor any of his successors have ever emerged, in order to avoid recognising the Italian State and to maintain the tradition that the Pope is a prisoner.

In 1871 the Law of Papal Guarantees was enacted by the Italian Parliament, largely inspired by Cavour's views. By its provisions the Pope was declared inviolable, the Vatican and Lateran palaces and the villa at Castel Gandolfo were proclaimed extra-territorial and reserved for the Pope's use, diplomats to the Holy See were accorded the same privileges as those accredited to the Italian King, and a civil list of 3,225,000 lire per annum was assigned to the Pope. The Holy See declined to recognise the law, regarding it as a unilateral act in which it had had no part. Since 1870 the two Powers have co-existed side by side, in the same capital, officially ignoring each other. The Holy See claimed that it could not exercise its universal spiritual functions unless it enjoyed that full independence which only the possession of temporal sovereignty can confer, while the Italian Government and the immense majority of the people refused to admit any such encroachment on the territorial sovereignty of the Kingdom. Unofficial contacts were by no means infrequent, as Signor Giuseppe Manfroni, police commissioner of the Borgo (the quarter of Rome in which the Vatican is situated) for thirty-one years, shows in his valuable book '*Sulla soglia del Vaticano*' There were, however, frequent outbursts of bitterness on both sides, and violent Press campaigns, often fomented from abroad. The supporters of the Temporal Power in Italy were indeed very few—a part of the Roman aristocracy, most of the higher clergy, and a tiny section of the bourgeoisies—and would have had but slight importance had it not been for

the powerful influence emanating from the Vatican itself with its world-wide ramifications and for the encouragement received from abroad. Outside the city of Rome relations between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities tended to become gradually more normal and friendly.

The conflict between the Vatican and the Kingdom was politically of serious importance, and on more than one occasion Pius IX, and particularly Leo XIII, tried to secure the restoration of the Temporal Power through foreign intervention. The Papacy appealed now to France, now to Austria, now to the foreign Catholics in general for support against the 'usurping' Power. France at various times exploited the Roman question to embarrass Italy, both in Europe and in the African colonies. The Habsburg Monarchy, ever dominated by Ultramontane Clerical influences, although Italy's partner in the Triple Alliance, never missed an opportunity of stressing her support of the Papal claims and her sympathy with the 'prisoner in the Vatican,' while fire-eating generals and bigoted archdukes frequently indulged in menaces against Italy and promises to restore the Temporal Power by force of arms. Even when the Pope himself abstained from definite action in this connection, there were always highly-placed prelates, both Italian and foreign, who openly professed themselves the enemies of the Italian Kingdom and of Italian unity. The Papacy consequently appeared to Italian public opinion in the guise of a hostile power entrenched within the heart of Italy and ever ready to side with her enemies. This anti-national attitude on the part of the Papacy left a deep impress on Italian life and thought, the effects of which survived even when that attitude was in practice considerably attenuated. The determination of the extreme Clericals to create an antithesis between Italian patriotism and Catholicism, even though it might be originally inspired by the super-national character of the Church, served to strengthen the anti-Clerical forces in Italy and to encourage free-thought and hostility to religion. The State and political life generally became imbued with a thoroughly materialistic and agnostic spirit, and education was made non-religious or even anti-religious and sectarian; youth was taught the mythology of Greece and the biography and teachings of Buddha and Mohamed,

but ignored the Gospels and the history of Christianity and the Church. This disregard of and contempt for religion ended by being extended to all spiritual values, and even to patriotism itself, which came to be classed, together with religion, as an out-of-date form of idealism, incompatible with modern progress.

In the internal politics of Italy the Vatican did not fail to exercise influence. At first Pius IX had rigorously prohibited Catholics from taking any part in politics. At the general election of 1880 Leo XIII had repeated the prohibition, but substituted the words *nunc non expedit* for *non licet*. As a matter of fact many Catholics actually did vote, but as individuals and not as a party. Subsequently they were permitted to vote at the municipal elections, and in many communes Catholic municipal councils were returned. Catholic organisations and trade unions were formed in opposition to the Socialist ones. Pius X, while maintaining his protest against the 'usurpation,' at first attenuated the *non expedit*, and at the election of 1913 rescinded it, and a number of Catholics were then elected to Parliament, without, however, forming a regular party, while other deputies owed their success to the Catholic vote secured by Signor Giolitti from Count Gentiloni, the secretary of the Catholic organisation.

The World War put the relations between the Vatican and the State to the acid test, and on the whole they came out of it fairly well. The Central Powers at once attempted to exploit the Roman question for their own benefit, and on Nov. 11, 1914, the German Ambassador told Signor Salandra, then Italian Prime Minister, that if Italy did not maintain an attitude at least of sympathy towards Germany, the powerful Centre Party would force the Imperial Government to raise the question of the Temporal Power once more after the war.\* Herr Erzberger, who was in Italy on the eve of her intervention, had actually drafted a scheme for its restoration to punish Italy for her 'treachery.' Benedict XV was strongly averse to Italian intervention, as he feared that the position of the Papacy, situated in one of the belligerent countries, would prove intolerable, and also because he was genuinely anxious to see his own country spared the horrors of war. But he refused to become an instrument

\* Antoni Salandra, 'La neutralità italiana.'

of Austro-German policy, and rejected all the advances of the Central Powers. On June 27, 1915, after Italy had entered the war, Cardinal Gasparri, in giving expression to the Pope's own views, categorically declared that 'His Holiness awaits the satisfactory settlement of his position not through foreign arms, but through the triumph of those sentiments of justice which he trusts will be spread ever more widely among the Italian people, in conformity with its own true interests.' This appeared to be a definite abandonment of the Leonine policy, and as Don Vercesi writes,\* the attempts of the Central Powers 'failed miserably before the wise conduct of the Vatican and Italy.'

During the war relations between Italy and the Vatican were strictly correct. Many German and Austrian ecclesiastics were allowed to remain in Rome, and cardinals from those countries were able to attend the Consistory. The attitude of Benedict himself seemed in Entente countries strangely callous to the sufferings of Catholic Belgium and Northern France at the hands of the German invaders, and his peace efforts, although inspired by the highest motives, were made at a moment when peace would have been wholly favourable to the Central Powers. But we must not forget that he had to consider his super-national position. It should be noted that no such bitter attacks were made on the Papacy in the Italian Press as in that of other Allied countries. In Italy the great majority of the clergy did their duty nobly in the war; many of the army chaplains fell in action, and not a few received the gold medal for valour in the field. But there were exceptions, and some priests, from an intolerant spirit, preached dissension and defeatism, and thus like the Socialists helped to pave the way for Caporetto.<sup>†</sup>

After the Allied victory the position of the Papacy was profoundly altered. There was no longer a powerful Habsburg Empire dominated by Ultramontane Clericalism; little support was to be hoped from defeated and weakened Germany; France, although subject to alternate phases of Clericalism and anti-Clericalism, had lost all

\* 'Il Vaticano, l'Italia e la Guerra.'

† See in this connection Aline Lion's 'The Pedigree of Fascism' (Sheed and Ward, 1928, p. 47).

interest in the Roman question. Italy, on the other hand, the one great victorious Catholic Power, showed signs of a revival of religious feeling, and public opinion appeared ready to discuss the Vatican's claims in a new spirit of tolerance. The Press in 1921 took up, beginning with the Democratic 'Messaggero,' the question with interest, and deplored that Italy was the only great Power not represented at the Vatican; what was peculiarly significant the Press Bureau of the Foreign Office published a pamphlet reproducing the articles and the speeches in Parliament on the subject, showing that the Government viewed the debate by no means unfavourably.\*

A few days previously Cardinal Gasparri, in a conversation with the writer, G. E. Curatulo,† after vigorously denying that in any future discussion on conciliation the restitution of the former States of the Church would be demanded, added: 'What the Holy See requires for the exercise of its spiritual authority is simply this—that it should not only *be* free and independent of all outside power, but that it should so *appear* in the eyes of the world.' The resurrection of a Papal Temporal State would indeed to-day be inconceivable. As an Italian political man recently said to a member of the 'Black' Roman aristocracy, 'What an ugly trick the King of Italy would play on the Holy Father if he took him at his word and handed over to him one fine morning even the city of Rome alone to govern, were it but for a single day!' Signor Curatulo further asked the Papal Secretary of State if the Holy See would be satisfied with the full sovereignty of the Apostolic palaces instead of their mere possession, a proposal which had recently been mooted as a possible solution. The Cardinal did not reply, but after remaining silent for a while, said: 'Certainly, in that case, various questions would have to be settled which we alone could not do, such as, for instance, that of criminal justice (within the Vatican), the maintenance of order and security.' The fact that he entered into these details suggests that in his opinion such a solution was regarded as at least worthy of consideration.

In February 1922 Benedict XV died and was succeeded by Cardinal Ratti, the learned Archbishop of Milan, as

\* 'Una nuova discussione sui rapporti tra Chiesa e Stato, 1921, in Italia.'

† 'La questione Romana,' p. 153.

Pius XI. The new Pope's first act was to give his blessing to the assembled people, not from within St Peter's, as his predecessors had done, but from the outer loggia ; this was taken as evidence of a conciliatory spirit, and although he afterwards issued the usual protest against the 'usurpation' he did so in comparatively mild language.

Since the end of the war a new Catholic party, the Partito popolare, had arisen and taken an active part in Italian political life. Its general secretary, Don Luigi Sturzo, was a man of sincere convictions and great organising ability, and although his attitude towards his country's foreign policy was by no means unpatriotic, his programme was of a distinctly Socialistic and demagogic character. The weakness of the party was that it comprised men of the most widely divergent views, from the narrow Conservatives of the Veneto and the Black Roman aristocracy to the most extreme Christian Socialists led by Miglioli, differing but little from the reddest Bolsheviks, kept together by the single bond of Catholicism. At the elections of 1919 the Partito popolare secured 101 seats, and the Vatican was not at first displeased at their success ; but it soon became alarmed at their somewhat unorthodox activities, especially when the priests took to organising strikes and disorders. The party rapidly lost its religious character, and Don Sturzo appeared more anxious to secure a few more seats in the Cabinet and Under-Secretaryships for his adherents than to assert in a practical fashion the Christian spirit by which the Partito popolare was supposed to be inspired.

With the Fascists the Popolari had often come into conflict, but at the time of the March on Rome (October 1922) there was no definite breach between the two parties. There were indeed several Popolari in Signor Mussolini's first Ministry. But the understanding was short-lived, and the Popolari Ministers and Under-Secretaries soon felt obliged to resign. The party subsequently split into two separate sections, one of which, the Centro Nazionale, adhered to Fascism, while the other became uncompromisingly hostile and has now ceased to exist as an organisation. The Pope had regarded the latter with increasing disapproval, and ended by for-

bidding Don Sturzo to carry on partisan politics at all and subsequently made it advisable for him to leave Italy.

The advent to power of the Fascists and the consequent restoration of order and of respect for authority was received with genuine satisfaction beyond the Bronze Door. The '*Osservatore Romano*' expressed its pleasure 'at the rigid maintenance of the liberty of religion and worship, which honours every civilised country, and makes the Government which assures it worthy.' Never before had the official organ of the Vatican spoken in such a tone of any Italian Government. The Fascists had indeed adopted an attitude towards the Church essentially different from that of any other Italian party. They regarded the Catholic Church primarily as an Italian institution, because, in spite of its universal character, its august Head is an Italian and resides in Italy, the majority of the Sacred College and of the other leading prelates are likewise Italians, and its spirit is essentially Latin, Roman, and Italian. Benedetto Croce, no friend of Fascism, had been the first modern historian to develop the theory that in the seventeenth century, when no other manifestation of the Italian national spirit was possible, the Church alone to some extent represented it, and this view was adopted by Fascist writers. On April 21, 1921, Signor Mussolini himself (we must remember that if his father had been a free-thinker, his mother was a devout Catholic), in a speech on Italo-Vatican relations delivered in the same place, declared that 'the Latin and Imperial tradition of Rome is represented to-day by Catholicism.' Fascism, as we all know, constantly stresses the importance for Italy of that tradition. 'The development of Catholicism,' Signor Mussolini added, 'the increase of the 400 millions of men, who in all parts of the earth look towards Rome, is a matter of interest and pride even for us who are Italians.' On the following day Signor Rocco, now Minister of Justice, said in the Chamber of Deputies that 'religion is too fundamental an element of the life of a people and the Catholic Church too essential an institution for Italy, and one too closely associated with the country's tradition and mission for the Italian State to be able to ignore either religion or the Church.'

Moreover, the rehabilitation of spiritual values, the

reaction against the materialistic outlook of the Socialists and the agnostic and sectarian conception of the State fashionable among democratic politicians, went hand in hand with a revival of religious feeling, even though the two movements were not identical. The words and acts of the Fascist Government were from the first in strict conformity with this attitude. The Prime Minister concluded his first speech in the Chamber after his assumption to office with an invocation 'to the assistance of God,' and the Dean of the Sacred College defined him as 'the restorer of the fortunes of Italy.' On Dec. 23, 1922, the Pope thus expressed himself on the possibilities of conciliation : 'It is for God to bring this hour and make it strike ; it is for wise men and of good will to let it not strike in vain ; it will be among the most solemn and fruitful hours both for the Kingdom of Christ and for the pacification of Italy.'

The new Government restored the right to hold religious processions even in Rome, and saw that they were not disturbed, the Crucifix was set up in the schools and law courts, religious instruction imparted as part of the school curriculum, the status of the clergy recognised in various ways, and by a series of enactments the sacredness of family institutions reaffirmed, while official pronouncements prohibited all birth-control propaganda. The condemnation and outlawry of Freemasonry, the arch-enemy of the Church, was warmly approved by the Vatican. In the debates on the Palestine mandate before the Council of the League of Nations, in 1922, the Italian representative strongly supported the claims of the Papacy, which objected to certain clauses concerning the possession of the Holy Places, with the result that the original scheme was withdrawn. During the Anno Santo (1925) the Government cordially co-operated with the ecclesiastical authorities in the organisation of pilgrimages to Rome, and on the occasion of the Franciscan celebrations at Assisi in 1926 it was officially represented by a Cabinet Minister.

It seemed as though the Italo-Vatican conflict were at last about to be finally solved. But it was not yet to be. In 1925 a Government commission had been set up to prepare a general reform of ecclesiastical legislation, and three learned prelates appointed members of it. A

scheme was drafted dealing with the ownership and legal personality of the churches, religious houses and institutions, confraternities, ecclesiastical benefices, and the insurance and pensions of the clergy. But the Holy See unexpectedly declared that the prelates in question in no way represented it and were merely acting as Italian citizens, and that it was not pledged by the conclusions of the commission. The Government, therefore, dropped the scheme. When after the aforesaid Franciscan festivities some newspapers expressed their satisfaction at the official participation in them, the '*Osservatore Romano*' retorted that 'the [Roman] question is ever in being,' and that 'after half a century of progress and even after five years of Fascism, relations with the Holy See are at the same point as they were on the morrow of Sept. 20, 1870.'

In the outburst of violent indignation aroused throughout Italy by the attempt on Signor Mussolini's life, in October 1926, parties of Fascists attacked and wrecked certain Catholic associations regarded, rightly or wrongly, as associated with the seditious activities of the Partito popolare. The outbreaks were severely repressed, and the Government could not be regarded as responsible for them, but the Pope, in his Allocution of Dec. 20, 1926, after expressing his great satisfaction that the attempted murder had failed, stigmatised the attacks on Catholic societies in language which to many Italians sounded unnecessarily harsh.

On other occasions the Vatican manifested its objection to the Fascist doctrine that the individual is a means to the end for the State, whereas for the Church the State is a means for the end of the individual and the family. A writer who is both a good Catholic and a Fascist, Camillo Pellizzi, said in this connection :

' What is the State if it is not an active solidarity of individual spirits? For whom is this State operating, if not for the nation, viz. for the sum total of its citizens, past, present, and future? Fascism applies to the State the same principle which the Church applies to the family. For the Church the family is not a hedonistic and contractual association, which may be dissolved and changed according to the pleasure and caprice of its partners, but a consecrated union,

the value and interests of which transcend those of its members.'\*

The Eucharistic Congress held at Bologna in the summer of 1927 gave rise to a further and even more significant polemic. On that occasion the civil authorities had again cordially co-operated with the ecclesiastical authorities, and some Italian and even foreign papers had asserted in consequence that the old quarrel between the Vatican and the Italian State could now be regarded as settled. The '*Osservatore Romano*,' however, replied on Sept. 21 and 22 that nothing was changed in the relations between the two Powers. It admitted, it declared, that the harsh and violent method of treating the Church had been greatly mitigated, that crude anti-Clerical persecution had ceased, and that this was undoubtedly the merit of the present régime. But

' no mildness of methods, no improvement of relations in secondary and practical matters touches the juridical principle or unties the essential knot of "the question." This consists in the absolute and undeniable necessity, according to Catholic doctrine, that the liberty and independence of the supreme Master and visible Head of the Catholic Church should be not only real and perfect, but also evident to all, so that no one—individual or Government—may seize on the pretext of the political situation of the Pope to cast on his decisions and precepts the imputation of nationalism, of favouritism towards some Government.'

This liberty, the paper added, must be based on a permanent juridical situation, universally recognised. Such an assertion seemed tantamount to a demand that a settlement be arrived at through international action.

The remarks of the Vatican organ called forth a number of replies in the national press. Signor Arnaldo Mussolini, brother of the Prime Minister, in the '*Popolo d'Italia*' of Sept. 23, noted that 'the question to-day is no longer one of "sovereignty," but of "spiritual liberty."' He repudiated the notion that the universal character of the Church should serve to humiliate the original national basis of the Italian State, and be discussed before an international tribunal and international judges.

\* '*Il Popolo d'Italia*,' July 30, 1927.

Catholic and Roman Italy, he concluded, 'in the fullness of her political virtue and her rights has all the attributes for being judge and guarantor.'

Prof. Gentile took a different line in the 'Corriere della Sera' (Sept. 30). He stated roundly that conciliation between the State and the Holy See was neither possible nor desirable. Juridical independence, such as the Vatican organ demands, cannot be granted by the Italian State, because it would involve the concession to the Vatican of a territory, however small, and he who makes such a concession can always withdraw it again; consequently, it can only be secured definitely by an international tribunal or conference, which Italy cannot accept. But a *de facto* conciliation is possible, and this is the line followed by the Fascist régime, which 'recognises the absolute religious value of the Catholic Church and satisfies all its requests.' All save one, the one which the 'Osservatore' reminds us as being ever 'in suspense.' The Church already enjoys all desirable independence. The law of Guarantees has worked well. 'Never in the course of centuries of his temporal sovereignty has the Pope been as free as he has been since 1870.'

To these two writers the 'Osservatore' replied on Oct. 14 and 15. Italy, it stated, which destroyed the ecclesiastical State, can reconstitute it, 'if not in the same proportions as the old, at least in the measure necessary to secure the visible independence of the governance of souls, and without committing national suicide. The distinguished Senator,' the paper continued, 'need not be anxious; we do not invoke foreign Powers nor international tribunals; the Holy See waits, as the Cardinal Secretary of State declared during the war, when the question, ever open, was exploited to the injury of Italy; the Holy See expects the solution not through foreign intervention, but through the sense of right and justice of the Italian people.' It denied that the Pope enjoyed the liberty described by Senator Gentile, but added that while the liberty of the Pope is not merely an Italian, but a Catholic, i.e. universal, question, this does not mean that it must be settled internationally. Here we have another and even more explicit rejection of international intervention. Nor must the Catholics of all the world be judges of the solution. 'No, the sole

judge is the Pope. . . . Nevertheless, in examining and estimating the solution . . . he cannot fail to take the just exigencies of all other non-Italian Catholics into account.' While approving the Fascist policy in surmounting the masonic and radical mentality, and in beginning 'to give back to God and the Church what belongs to them,' it denied that any unilateral attempt at a solution could hope for success.

In a counter-reply to the '*Osservatore Romano*,' Signor A. Mussolini\* suggested, as his own personal opinion, with regard to the demand that 'at least a part of Papal territory be returned,' that the property of the Apostolic palaces, instead of their mere use, might be conferred on the Pope. The '*Civiltà cattolica*',† in commenting on this proposal, while not rejecting it outright, said that 'the mere property of the palaces did not of itself imply sovereignty.'

On Oct. 20, the Fascist '*Foglio d'Ordini*' issued a statement on the whole controversy, concluding that, as the Vatican organ itself admitted, the question must be solved not internationally, but bilaterally between the Italian State and the Holy See, and that the independence of the Papacy did not necessarily involve conditions of a territorial nature. Fascists, it declared, must abstain from two antithetical positions, equally divorced from reality: that of those who assert dogmatically the absolute impossibility of solving the Roman question (Gentile), and that of those who regard the question as capable of an easy and rapid solution. . . . The Fascist régime has all the twentieth century before it in which to find a solution without renouncing any of the fundamental rights of the State, where the Democratic-Liberal régime failed. The conclusion may be this: difficult, but not impossible.

A side issue was raised by the meeting of the Centro nazionale (the pro-Fascist section of the old Partito popolare) on the Capitol in March 1928. Signor Egilberto Martire, in his report, paid a warm tribute to the Government for having created conditions favourable to religion and morals. To this the Pope retorted in an address to

\* '*Il Popolo d'Italia*,' Oct. 18, 1927.

† Nov. 5, 1927.

the Giunta diocesana of Rome,\* severely stigmatising the Centro for having met in Rome, not at the Vatican but on the Capitol, and adding : ' It is not we who will deny the good which has been done [by the Government], the evil which has been made to cease, with results beneficial also to the Catholic religion. . . . But we know . . . how many things still remain truly *lacrimæ rerum.*' He expressed his regret at the Government policy of a State monopoly of education, and deplored the obstacles and threats against the work of the *Azione cattolica* in many places, ' although not in all, nor in the majority.' The Government did not reply, but decreed on April 9 the absorption of the Catholic Boy Scouts into the Balilla organisation, which was to concentrate all formations and organisations for the education, professional, physical, moral, and spiritual training of youth. But a further decree (May 14) expressly declared that the decree of April 9 referred exclusively to youthful formations of a semi-military character, and precisely to the Catholic Boy Scouts, whereas associations of a predominantly religious character, such as those under the auspices of the *Azione cattolica*, to which the Pope attaches particular importance, are not contemplated. The object of the concentration of all semi-military formations under the Balilla was to prevent any juxtaposition between Catholic and non-Catholic bodies and to enable the Balilla to have their own chaplains and religious instructors and not be regarded as an irreligious organisation.

Thus we have on the one hand the demand of the Vatican for effective and visible independence, and on the other the assent of Italian public opinion to the idea of this independence, provided that it does not encroach on the sovereign rights of the Italian State. There are in certain circles, inspired either by a survival of the old Masonic anti-Clerical spirit or by a fear that the Vatican is ready to take all that is offered and give nothing in return, those who believe that the Government has gone too far in its conciliatory attitude. In this connection another writer, Guido De Luca,† expressed the view that the changed attitude of the Pope was due first to the

\* 'Osservatore Romano,' March 27, 1928.

† 'Il Papato e l'Italia si concilieranno.'

survival and reorganisation of the Freemasons, and secondly to the philosophy of Prof. Gentile, 'whose eminent qualities as a thinker no Italian will ignore, but in whom no Fascist will recognise the quality of the philosopher of the revolution.' Signor De Luca's opinion of Prof. Gentile is shared by few Fascists, and certainly by none in responsible quarters, but there are some who hold that the eminent Sicilian philosopher's views might constitute an obstacle to a complete conciliation between Fascism, or rather the Italian State, and the Papacy.

In conclusion, it may be admitted that a solution of the conflict appears on the whole desirable both for the Vatican and for the Italian State, and that the solution must both avoid encroaching on Italy's sovereignty and satisfy the Vatican's desire for 'visible independence.' Such an independence is as desirable for the Italian people as for the Papacy, for while the latter does not wish to lose the support of the non-Italian Catholic world, Italy, too, has no desire to see the international prestige and world-wide authority of a venerable institution, which, if not exclusively Italian, is yet in Italy and Italian in spirit, diminished. A purely Italian Papacy without authority outside Italy would be a loss to the Italian nation. All idea of an international solution being excluded, a direct agreement between the two parties concerned should be sought after and eventually arrived at. While the Vatican has never defined what measure it would regard as satisfactory to its independence, the proposal that its sovereignty over the Apostolic palaces should be recognised has not been rejected by either side and might form an initial basis for discussion. There is certainly a spirit of conciliation in the air to-day, such as there never has been since 1870, in spite of occasional disagreements and polemics over points of practical policy and minor importance. As Prof. Luigi Valli wrote in the German review '*Junge Europa*', 'Italy can for the first time perhaps allow herself the luxury of renouncing anti-Clericalism.' There are now only two great Catholic Powers in the world—France and Italy—and France is still liable to waves of anti-Clericalism and irreligion, while the Vatican's condemnation of the *Action française*, although it may be justified on the grounds of pure orthodoxy, has certainly divided and weakened the

French Catholic movement. The Papacy has, therefore, every interest in coming to an understanding with the Italian State.

There is, indeed, reason to believe that the Papacy is really anxious to reach an agreement. But it considers that it must be based on a regular concordat, such as those concluded with several of the new States born of the war, many of them dominated by an anti-Clerical spirit. Consequently, it does not wish to appear to make any concession at present which might compromise future negotiations to that end. The Italian State likewise cannot fail to desire to bring the old dispute to an end. But, as the Fascist 'Foglio d'Ordini' declared, it is in no hurry. It may be that the time is not yet quite ripe, that the hour alluded to by the Pope in his statement of Dec. 23, 1922, has not yet struck, and that by moving slowly along this thorny path the solution, when finally attained, will be of a more satisfactory and lasting character than if, in attempting to secure a sensational appearance of success, the real situation should be unfavourably prejudiced.

LUIGI VILLARI.

## Art. 4.—A SOCIALIST FANTASY.

*The Town Labourer, 1760–1832.* By J. L. and B. Hammond. Longmans, 1925.

FEW persons to-day think any the worse of a historian for being a partisan. Most of us agree that the writer who feels strongly on one side or other is likely to produce a more interesting, and often a more valuable book, than he who preserves a tepid and unnatural neutrality. There is one qualification, however, to this statement. When past events are used as the basis of argument in a present controversy—when historical facts are interpreted in the light of some modern problem—then it is of the utmost importance that the historian should be unprejudiced, and that his statements should be accurate. No serious harm is done if we read, say, a life of Charles I, in which the king is presented as a blessed saint and martyr; we have only got to read another book in which he appears as a liar of sub-normal intelligence, and strike a balance between the two. But this is not the case when history is interpreted, or misinterpreted, in the light of modern political controversy; for then our personal prejudices and emotions are enlisted, and we willingly allow ourselves to be blinded to the truth.

The science of Economic History is comparatively new, and lends itself to such handling. An important and distinguished school of writers has devoted itself largely to the interpretation of British economic history in the interests of one particular section of political opinion. The leaders of this school wielded such power—they were endowed with such splendid talents and such vast knowledge—that for some time their conclusions were allowed to pass almost unchallenged.

The central idea, on which they based their theories, is simple enough. They concerned themselves chiefly with the Industrial Revolution and its results, and they contended that the Revolution made a great change for the worse in the position of the poorer classes in Britain. In illustration, I quote from a book by one of their most eminent leaders :

' The power which was flooding the world with its lavish

gifts was destined to become a fresh menace to the freedom and the happiness of men.

'The depreciation of human life was thus the leading fact about the new system for the working classes, . . . for the revolution that had raised the standard of comfort for the rich had depressed the standard of life for the poor.'

'The growth of the population is as striking a fact. . . . It is well known that population increases with a decline in the standard of life. The first Sir Robert Peel argued in 1806 that it was prosperity that produced early marriages and the rapidly growing birth-rate, but that view is discredited by the fuller knowledge we possess to-day.' \*

Prof. J. H. Clapham, in his 'Economic History of Modern Britain,' has once for all discredited these theories. He has proved that the position of the lower classes improved with the Industrial Revolution, and that wages did not fall but rise. He has proved that the 'rapidly-growing birth-rate' is a myth. The increase of population was caused, not by a growing birth-rate but by a falling death-rate, which in its turn was due to a raising of the standard of life, better knowledge of medicine and hygiene, and a general improvement of the conditions in which the people lived. The first Sir Robert Peel, in fact, was right when he said that the increase of population was caused by prosperity.

In the light of Prof. Clapham's work, the historians of this school will have to revise their theories ; and it is not my intention to discuss them here. I propose, instead, to take one of their books and examine it in detail, and to show, as I hope, that its details require to be as carefully and critically examined as does the main theory on which it is based. I aspire to play jackal to Prof. Clapham's lion : if I may adapt the old song,

He (i.e. Prof. Clapham) will sit on their white hawse-bane,  
And I'll pike out their bonnie blue een.

The book which I have selected is 'The Town Labourer,' by Mr and Mrs Hammond. It is one of a trilogy of books entitled 'The New Civilisation, 1760-1832,' which purport to give a comprehensive view of the

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\* 'The Town Labourer,' pp. 16, 35-6, 13-14.

Industrial Revolution and its results in Britain. They are fascinating books, in which the central theory is supported by a wealth of incident, charmingly narrated in a style at once scholarly and spirited, and presented with the greatest art so as to tell in favour of the main argument.

This labour of love requires considerable persistence on the critic's part. Mr and Mrs Hammond deal largely with the Home Office Records, and in quoting from these their general habit is to give no further reference than (for example) 'H.O. 40. 32.' As 'H.O. 40. 32' is a large bundle containing some hundreds of miscellaneous papers, it is not always easy to identify a document, when neither the date nor the writer's name is given. In dealing with printed materials, the writers are sometimes equally casual. On p. 159, for instance, reference is made to the evidence of Richard Cotton before Sadler's Committee on the Factory Laws. The historian will search in vain for any Richard Cotton among the blue-books, but the facts quoted are to be found in the evidence of Robert Colton before Sadler's Committee. Sometimes no reference at all is given for important statements. On p. 41 we are told, 'In the Northumberland strike of 1832 one clergyman owner evicted all his tenants during a raging cholera.' Without casting any doubt on this statement, I may say that it is of such strange and horrid interest that the authority for it might well have been stated; but none is given. Sometimes authorities are cited which are in themselves not very conclusive. Several statements are made, for example, on the authority of Boyd's 'Coal Pits and Pitmen.' This is an interesting little book, but it is full of statements and even quotations for which no source is given. It cannot, therefore, be considered a very satisfactory authority when it stands alone. However, we are all sinners where references are concerned, and I merely make these remarks to show that any one who wishes to verify the facts given in Mr and Mrs Hammond's books must be prepared to give time and trouble to the work.

After this it is not very surprising to find that Mr and Mrs Hammond not infrequently declare some practice to have been common or universal, but give, as authority for the statement, only a single instance. On p. 157 of

'The Town Labourer' we are told, 'Sometimes, too, an adult worker was only given work on condition that he brought children with him.' The authority cited is the Report of Sadler's Committee, pp. 124-126. But on referring to it, we find only one case given. There may be a presumption that other cases occurred, but there is no evidence. On p. 32 a more startling instance occurs. 'In many parishes,' we learn, 'the overseers refused relief unless the children went out to work.' The source is again the Report of Sadler's Committee, the evidence of the overseers of Leeds and Keighley. Leeds and Keighley do not constitute 'many parishes'; but a little later we find that the custom of 'many parishes' has now become universal, and are airily told (p. 157) that 'When a weaver's wages had sunk to 6s. 6d. a week, the earnings of his children in the factory became an integral part of the family income, and parish relief was refused if he had children whom he could send to the mill.' This recalls the old child's game of *Russian Scandal*. But this exaggeration of two instances into a universal custom is not the only interesting point. I think any one would conclude, from the sentences I have quoted, that at Leeds and Keighley relief was refused to the parents if the children did not go to work. But this was not the case at all. There was no question of the parents. Relief was refused to the child if it was able to work and did not. We must remember that this was in the days of the Speenhamland system, when poor relief was often given in proportion to the number of children, to supplement the wages of parents who were at work. The very form of the question put, in the case of Leeds, shows what was meant. The Commissioners inquired: 'Supposing that the parents applying for relief for their children, refused to allow them to labour in mills and factories . . . would they in the meantime have had any relief from the workhouse board . . . merely on the ground that the children could not bear that labour?' 'Certainly not.'

Reading on, we find that at Leeds no relief was given to any one over ten years old, except in cases of sickness or long-continued unemployment; and there is no reference whatever to any case where the parents were refused relief for themselves because they had a child who

could work, and did not.\* The same was the case at Keighley. The overseer there declared that children were only given relief in cases of ill-health or injury, and that if their parents took them away from work, thinking that their health might suffer, they would not be eligible for relief. He said, however, that no such instance of refusal of relief to a child had ever actually occurred, because the parents never did take them away from work. 'Did they ever apply for relief, except when they were out of work or ill?' 'No.' †

The game of 'Hunt the Reference' occasionally leads to odd conclusions. On p. 72 of 'The Town Labourer' we find the sentence, 'The Vagrancy Laws . . . offered the easiest and most expeditious way of proceeding against any one who tried to collect money for the families of locked-out workmen,' and the authority given is 'H.O. 42. 118, Dec. 13.' After going three several times through 'H.O. 42. 118,' I failed to find any letter dated Dec. 13 bearing on the Vagrancy Laws or on unemployed workmen; but I *did* find two letters, dated Dec. 16 and 19, from a magistrate in Loughborough, who stated that he had committed, first one man and later two others, for extorting money by threats, chiefly from their fellow-workmen, for the use of 'Ned Ludd's army'—i.e. the rioters who were then terrifying the country.‡

Sometimes additional bits of information can be found in the Records, which cast a new light upon the facts briefly retailed by Mr and Mrs Hammond.

'Of all the documents in the Home Office papers, none illustrates better the difficulties of that struggle' [i.e. the struggle of the working class for education] 'than a confiscated copybook, seized by an active magistrate and sent to the Home Office in a time of panic as a dangerous piece of sedition, in which a working man, secretary of a little society of working men Reformers, had been practising his elementary powers of writing and spelling' ('Town Labourer,' p. 251).

This happened in the year 1817, when the country was seriously disturbed, and an extract from the copybook

\* 'Report of Sadler's Committee,' pp. 403 f., evidence of W. Osburn.

† Id. p. 208, evidence of G. Sharp. He added, 'or that such work as they had to do was not sufficient to maintain them'—a sure indication that the Speenhamland system was in use.

‡ H.O. 42. 118. Mr Hardy, Dec. 16, Dec. 19, 1811.

will make clear the motives of the officious magistrate in sending it to the Home Office.

' When legislation shall be in the hands of despotic usurpers what shall they spare that stands in the way of their cupidity or corrupt will, and how shall the people have any security against unjust and needless wars in which tens of thousands of lives are to be annually sacrificed and countless millions of money levied by grievous taxes and a large proportion of the community pauperised that usurpers may rivet the people's chains and riot in their spoils.'

The copybook was seized with a number of other papers, which included a resolution of the ' little society ' attributing all the distress of the country to ' wicked and profligate ministers,' and a copy of the blasphemous ' creed,' circulated among the reformers and beginning ' I believe in the Earl of Liverpool,' etc.\*

The magistrates of that period, we are told, were destitute of all sympathy with the working men. ' Colonel Fletcher of Bolton was a coal-owner, and he took care that his brother magistrates put his workmen in prison when they struck for an advance of wages' (' Town Labourer,' p. 65). It is true that Colonel Fletcher charged three of his workmen with conspiracy under the Combination Laws. We do not know what was the evidence against them, but we learn from the Records that not only the weavers but the colliers and spinners were at this time on strike, and that the whole countryside was in disorder, houses being attacked, constables beaten, blacklegs threatened, and so forth. The weavers got a rise of wages, but the colliers went back to work on the masters' terms. The three Bolton colliers then applied to Colonel Fletcher to get them a pardon, and he wrote to the Home Office requesting that they might be released without serving the two months which remained of their sentence of three months' imprisonment. Mr and Mrs Hammond do not mention this sequel; but we may perhaps conclude that if Colonel Fletcher had been quite as black as they paint him, the colliers would not have applied to him for a pardon.†

\* H.O. 42. 157. Copybook ; resolution of meeting of Feb. 10, 1817.

† H.O. 42. 179. Col. Fletcher, Aug. 26, 1818 ; do., Aug. 31, 1818 ; Mr Ethelstone, Aug. 31, 1818 ; Mr Gray, Aug. 24, 1818 ; Mr Lloyd, Aug. 26, 1818 ; Mr Norris, Aug. 28, 1818. H. O. 42. 180. Mr Norris, Sept. 3, 1818 ; Col. Fletcher, Sept. 22, 1818.

Even when documents are quoted, we cannot always rely on their being correct. In the year 1830, the formation of a General Trades Union in the north, and several strikes accompanied by violence alarmed the country; and the then Home Secretary, Sir Robert Peel, considered the possibility of introducing legislation against picketing. Mr Foster, a Manchester magistrate, sent him a letter outlining possible measures against picketing. Peel left office before he could take action, and he left Mr Foster's letter for his successor, docketed as follows: 'I take the liberty of recommending the subject of this letter and the whole of my recent confidential communications with Mr Foster respecting the Trades Union at Manchester, to the immediate and serious consideration of my successor in the Home Department. (Signed) Robert Peel.' \* Mr and Mrs Hammond, however, say that Peel 'left a note: "I take the liberty of recommending the whole of this correspondence *re* the Union to the immediate and serious consideration of my successor at the Home Department"' ('Town Labourer,' p. 313). No hint is given that this is not a literal transcription of the document; yet the abridgement alters the meaning. Peel wished to recommend to his successor the need of taking action against picketing, and referred to the preliminary correspondence merely as giving information of the state of affairs in the north; but from the Hammond version it is possible to infer that he was recommending his successor to take action against the Trades Union itself.

Sometimes the device is adopted of making some amazing statement, without any authority whatever being given, but with a bold assumption of right which makes the reader accept it unquestioningly. 'Nobody would say of the industries discussed in this book that they were declining during this period. Nobody would say that they were stagnant' ('Town Labourer,' p. 95). The coolness of this leaves one dumbfounded. What industry offered the great problem of that age, over which the British Government mourned helplessly—what industry was the greatest example of suffering and distress—what industry was continually the theme of all the complaints and lamentations of the day? Why, handloom-weaving. And will any one dare to maintain that handloom-weaving

\* H.O. 40. 27. Mr Foster, Nov. 13, 1830. Peel's note inside dated Nov. 19.

in the first thirty years of the nineteenth century was not a declining trade? Certainly no one would say it was stagnant; that would be too hopeful a term to apply to it. It was dying, and the end of this period saw its death.

We hear a great deal, in '*The Town Labourer*', about 'the system.' To many people what seems most striking about the Industrial Revolution is its lack of system: the bewildered and blind struggle of people and Government with new forces, which they had not learned to understand; the confusion of interests, the vast disorder as great industries sprang into being like mushrooms and new theories strove for acceptance. The object of Mr and Mrs Hammond, however, is to show that it was not circumstance, but class interest, that produced the sufferings of the lower classes at that date; that the state of society was deliberately organised and perpetuated by the upper classes, in order to keep down the masses and to keep themselves in a position of privilege. By dint of collecting every horrid abuse which occurred during this period, and grouping them together as parts of a whole, they give us indeed a gruesome picture of the 'system.'

The chief counts of the indictment which is brought against the 'system' are the Criminal Law, the state of education, the treatment of the Trade Unions, the employment of children, and the custom of paying wages in Truck. I propose now to examine these subjects separately. A whole chapter of '*The Town Labourer*' is devoted to 'Justice,' and there are many references throughout the book to the bloody Criminal Law of the time. Good play is made with a number of heart-rending cases where the law of England showed less consideration for life than for property, and where men, women, and even children were sentenced to death for theft (pp. 76 f., 304, etc.). We are given to understand that this was an essential part of the system by which the upper classes enforced their economic lordship on the masses.

As a matter of fact, however, the savage Criminal Law of England had nothing to do with the Industrial Revolution—'the New Civilisation,' as Mr and Mrs Hammond call it. It was a survival from the remote past. The conception that property is more valuable than life was no invention of the period. It existed in full force in

those ideal Mediæval days of guilds and crafts, once the Golden Age of the sentimental economic-historian. Three hundred years ago, some unknown Scottish rhymester said in two noble lines all that Mr and Mrs Hammond strive to say in many paragraphs of laboured denunciation :

Wae worth the loon that made the laws,  
To hang a man for gear! \*

As it happened, the New Civilisation, far from originating this system, actually did away with it. Before 1830 the death penalty had been abolished for nearly all crimes, and it was already assured that its speedy abolition in most of the remaining cases would follow. It should be noted, also, that the abolition was carried *before* the reform of Parliament on popular lines.†

Very much the same criticism may be made on Mr and Mrs Hammond's treatment of the educational question. Certainly education in England at that time was scandalously neglected. Mr and Mrs Hammond would have us believe that this again was part of the 'system,' and that the upper classes deliberately tried to keep the poor ignorant. Certainly many cases could be found of individuals who believed that the education of the poor was dangerous to society. As many could be discovered of individuals who believed the contrary. Such instances prove nothing ; but Mr and Mrs Hammond contend that

\* Ballad of Gilderoy.

† The retort may be made, that it took a long and hard struggle to get the reform through Parliament. That is true ; but it is easily understood when we consider the actual condition of affairs. The circumstances that produce such savage laws, at all periods of history, are the same : when detection is uncertain, the punishment is made correspondingly ferocious. At this period, and for long past, detection was very uncertain indeed. Crime was rife and was increasing, and there was no efficient police force. The men in Parliament who voted against the repeal of the death penalty did not do so because they thought every man who stole 40s. in a dwelling-house should be hanged : they knew that every man who did so was not hanged—nor even every man who was caught doing so. They merely thought that if a man were occasionally hanged for doing so, it would deter others : and they believed that if the penalty were small, and the detection uncertain as well, the position would become very dangerous. The reform of the Criminal Law had to wait for the reform of the Police, and that took years to prepare. Both were in the end the work of the same man, Sir Robert Peel, who regarded them as essentially parts of the same whole.

this was the deliberate policy of the Government also. On p. 54 of 'The Town Labourer,' they inform us that the Whig Government of 1832 'was the first to give a sixpence of public money to education.' This statement is so astounding that one hesitates to qualify it. Since 1811 the Government had made a yearly grant, rising to 30,000*l.* a year, of public money to Irish education. But perhaps Ireland doesn't count with Mr and Mrs Hammond.

Scotland certainly doesn't ; but then, English writers are so apt to forget the existence of Scotland that perhaps one cannot complain of that. Scotland, however, was going through exactly the same phase of social and economic history as was England, and Scotland had had since 1696 a system of undenominational schools \* supported by public funds, and was generally admitted to be one of the best-educated countries in Europe. In Scotland, in some of the factory districts, education was comparatively neglected, and there 3 or 4 per cent. of the people could not read.† In the English factory towns the percentage was in some cases as high as 17 ; but in England the country districts were even more illiterate than the towns. In the parish of Inveraray, with a town population of 1233 and a country population of 1044, there were in 1840 nine schools, six of which were supported at the expense of the Duke of Argyle, five Sunday schools, and two libraries. In the remote islands of Coll and Tiree, with a total population of 5864, the provision was as follows : Coll had one General Assembly school, one S.P.C.K. school, one Glasgow Auxiliary school, and a Gaelic school ; Tiree had two Parish schools, one school for the Gaelic Bible only, one General Assembly school, and *five schools 'supported by the people themselves.'*‡ However wretched was the condition of the English labourer, no one will contend that it was worse than that of the Hebridean peasant, and that English villagers were not as well able to support a school at their own

\* These schools were of course first established by the Scottish Parliament, not by that of the United Kingdom.

† Those who could not read, in the Scottish factories, were frequently Irish, not Scottish, workers. See Report of two Factory Commissions of 1816, p. 1.

‡ See 'New Statistical Account of Scotland,' Inveraray, Coll and Tiree. Italics mine.

expense as the inhabitants of Tiree, had they wished to do so.

Here lies the real reason for the neglect of education in England. There was in the English character a deep-rooted distrust and dislike of education, and it was common to all classes. The Mendip villagers wanted Hannah More to pay them for sending their children to school; and in the same way, the aristocracy grossly neglected the education of their own children. Until the reforms of 1800 and 1807, a degree at Oxford was a mere farce. At the great public schools the boys were drilled in Latin verse-making, 'their characters were formed,' and they acquired a comprehensive knowledge of vice; otherwise they left as ignorant as they arrived, except those boys who had a natural bent for scholarship. In the biographies on this period we meet with statements that are hair-raising: Lady Caroline Lamb did not know the alphabet at ten years old; Lord Althorp was abandoned to the company of the stablemen, and learned to read from a Swiss footman. When schemes of State education were brought forward, it was usually the opposition of the Church of England that defeated them. But this attitude was due to Anglican intolerance, not to class prejudice; it was a feeling as old as the Church, and not peculiar to the times.

The argument from the state of education, then, falls to the ground. If the neglect of education had been a deliberate attempt to degrade the lower classes, it would be found in Scotland also, where the same conditions ruled. Perhaps I shall be told that Scotland does not come within the scope of Mr and Mrs Hammond's study; but this is not the case. When the question is of the disgraceful industrial conditions in Scotland—when it is of Paisley spinning-mills and East Lothian mines—then we get chapter and verse fast enough. But on those points where Scotland, though under the same Government and the same economic laws, was superior, silence is kept.

Let us turn next to the Factory question. There is nothing in the history of the Industrial Revolution that so deeply impresses and shocks the student as the exploitation of the child. The facts here are so horrible that they need no exaggeration; they speak for themselves, and

with deadly effect. Yet even here Mr and Mrs Hammond cannot resist the temptation to over-statement. The factory child was victimised in two ways. It suffered from overwork, excessive hours, and unsuitable conditions of labour, and for this the factory-owners were responsible. It suffered also from physical ill-usage, and for this the workmen themselves were responsible. Mr and Mrs Hammond, however, do not admit that the blame for this rests with the workmen. It was not the workman's fault, we are told, it was all the fault of the 'system.' The workmen beat the children unwillingly. 'It is true that a great deal of the beating in the factories was done by the work-people without orders, or even against orders, but this only emphasised the brutality of the system. Fathers beat their own children to save them from a worse beating by some one else' ('Town Labourer,' p. 33). This phrase strikes the authors as so good, that they repeat it again on p. 160: 'Fathers beat their own children to save them from a worse beating by other overseers.' 'Overseers and spinners beat the children, sometimes no doubt from sheer brutality, but often because they had to get so much work out of them or go' (p. 33).

It is amusing to find Mr and Mrs Hammond repeating to-day the excuses made by the workmen at the time, and completely refuted by the Factory Commissioners of 1833. The Commissioners, in their reports, refer to the statement that workmen were forced to beat the children because it was the only way to keep them at work, and this is their comment: 'This, however, is rebutted by the fact given in evidence that in numerous well-regulated establishments the infliction of corporal punishment is effectively prohibited, and that in these the amount of production is apparently not less than in others where coercion is allowed on the part of the operatives.\*

Cases of cruelty, the Report continued, were almost entirely confined to the smaller and worse-regulated mills. 'In Scotland at least the small mill is the only factory in which such treatment ever takes place in the present day, and . . . there are many even of the smallest mills . . . honourably distinguished for a kinder treatment of their workers; but the great mass of the people employed in

\* 'Supplementary Report of 1833,' p. 47.

factories . . . are in establishments of which such descriptions as the following are given.' Then follows a description of Finlay's mill at Catrine—clean, airy, well-ventilated, with fanners, thermometers and clocks in every room, a chapel attached, and houses built for the workers superior to the ordinary houses of the locality.\* Cruelty, the Commissioners concluded, was 'inflicted by violent and dissipated workmen, often the very men who raise the loudest outcry about the cruelties to which children are subjected in factories. . . . Such facts of severity and cruelty towards children . . . as are still found of occasional occurrence, are for the most part chargeable neither on the masters nor on the overlookers, but on the spinners and slubbers themselves.'† The slubbers were in the habit of leaving the mill and amusing themselves outside for an hour or two, and then returning they made up for lost time by keeping their little piecers 'on the run' for the next hour or two, kicking and beating them to keep them at it.‡

The Commissioners also found that the demand for the restriction of hours of children's labour was not in fact dictated by consideration for the children, but by the desire of the workmen to have their own hours shortened. The only persons really interested in the children for their own sakes, they said, were 'benevolent individuals from a higher sphere. . . . It appears that though the case of the children is invariably put forward as the plea for restriction in all appeals to the public, it is hardly so much as mentioned in the meetings or discussions of the operative body themselves, or if mentioned is only in connection with the anticipated curtailment of the working-time for adults.'§

In the same way, it was often the workmen who were responsible for the ill-treatment of children in mines. The air-door children and the engine-boys were hired by the employers, and the responsibility for them rests with the employers; but the hurriers, the wretched little beings who dragged the coal-carts, were hired by the miners themselves, who were often responsible for the long hours worked by these boys and girls. The Report

\* 'Supplementary Report of 1833,' pp. 20-21.

† Ibid, pp. 20, 45.

‡ Ibid, p. 19.

§ Ibid, p. 47.

of the Coal Commission of 1844 (p. 22) shows how this system worked in the West of Scotland. There the workmen themselves fixed the day's 'darg.' No man was allowed to deliver more than 3s. 6d. or 4s. worth of coal in a day. 'If, however, a man has children, they can draw the coal for him, and thus enable him to get through his "darg" in a shorter time and with less labour.' Thus we see that here the children were victimised, not because the family needed their earnings, but because the father saved himself time and trouble by taking them down the mine. One young miner in the West Riding told the Commissioners how he would do his day's hewing and then go up to amuse himself, leaving his three little sisters, the youngest only eight years old, to 'fill and hurry' for him.\* Mr and Mrs Hammond refer to a miner who used to take his baby down the mine in its cradle, to keep the rats off his dinner. As all the other miners in Great Britain found some other adequate method of keeping these animals from their food, this must have been pure brutality. Then our authors tell us, in the next paragraph, that 'the treatment of the miners gave the new society the look of a civilisation in which human life seemed less important than the profits of capital' ('Town Labourer,' p. 28). Yes, and the conduct of the miners gave it the look of a civilisation where human life was less important than the conveniences of labour.

Mr and Mrs Hammond contend that the workmen could not live without their children's earnings: 'A family could not live on an income of 5s. or 6s. a week,' they say ('Town Labourer,' p. 32). Very true; but only the weavers at their bad times, and the country labourers in certain districts, earned as little as 6s. a week. The spinners, who took their own children with them to the factories, often earned from 18s. to 30s., and sometimes even more. The miners often earned 14s. or 15s. together with free coals, pit drink, and houses at a nominal rent. The Factory Commissioners of 1833 demolished this argument also. They concluded that the loss of the child's wages would be very small indeed, and would be fully counterbalanced by the rise of wages for older persons.

\* 'Coal Report of 1844,' p. 12.

The wages of the younger children ranged from 6d. to 3s. a week, a sum 'trivial indeed compared to the injury inflicted on the child.' \*

Let us turn now to the conditions in which the children worked. On p. 157 of 'The Town Labourer' it is stated, 'They entered the mill gates at 5 or 6 a.m., they left them (at earliest) at 7 or 8 p.m. (*Saturdays included*). . . . The only respite during the 14 or 15 hours' confinement was afforded by meal hours, at most half an hour for breakfast and an hour for dinner' (italics mine). The chief source from which we obtain our information as to conditions in the factories is the reports of the various factory commissions. I append a table compiled from the report of the Commission of 1816 (Peel's Report), showing the hours worked in the various factories examined.

Proprietor.	Actual Hours of Labour.	Meal Hours.	Saturdays.
A. Buchanan .	12 (sometimes less)	{ 1 hr. dinner, $\frac{1}{2}$ hr. breakfast	—
J. Mayer . .	12 hrs. 20 mins.	{ 1 hr. dinner 20 mins. breakfast 20 mins. tea	Stop 2 hrs. earlier.
J. Wedgwood .	10 summer, 9 winter	{ $\frac{1}{2}$ hr. breakfast 1 hr. dinner	Stop 2 hrs. earlier.
J. S. Ward . .	{ Under 8 years, 6 hrs. summer, 8 winter. 9-15 yrs., 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ hrs.	{ $\frac{3}{4}$ hr. dinner, break- fast varies	—
J. Pattison . .	{ 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ . No overtime for children	{ 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ hr. dinner, 1 hr. breakfast, $\frac{1}{2}$ hr. tea	—
P. Noaille . .	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	{ 1 hr. dinner, $\frac{1}{2}$ hr. tea, $\frac{1}{2}$ hr. breakfast	—
Manchester Factories .	12 $\frac{1}{2}$ -14	—	9-10 hrs.
W. Sidgwick . .	13	1 hr. dinner.	—
J. Creswell . .	{ 11. (Owen accused him of working 16. Gort's) . .	{ He denies it)	—
Adam Bogle . .	{ 12 hrs. 35 mins. (No) children under 10)	{ 40 mins. breakfast 45 mins. dinner	Stop 2 hrs. earlier.
H. Hollins . .	12 hrs. 24 mins.	1 hr. dinner	Stop 2 hrs. earlier.
Fred. Robinson .	12	1 hr. dinner.	—
H. Houldsworth .	12 hrs. 50 mins.	{ 30 mins. breakfast 40 mins. dinner.	—
G. B. Strutt . .	12	—	—
J. Swainson . .	Once 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Now 13 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 hr. dinner.	—
R. Arkwright . .	11 $\frac{1}{2}$ -12.	{ 1 hr. dinner, break- fast varies.	—
W. Sandford . .	13	1 hr. dinner	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ hrs.
G. A. Lee . .	13	40 mins. dinner	11 hrs.†

\* 'Supplementary Report of 1833, Mitchell's Report,' p. 37.

† Some admitted they worked overtime occasionally, others denied ever doing so. Some worked short time when trade was quiet.

Mr and Mrs Hammond are therefore mistaken when they say that the employer witnesses before Peel's committee 'admitted that the regular factory hours varied from thirteen to fifteen a day' ('Town Labourer,' p. 162).

If we then take the report of the Factory Commission of 1833, the classical authority on the subject, we find the hours of labour stated as follows : \* In Scotland, a few factories worked 10-11 hours, most of them 12-12½ hours, one or two 13 hours. Sometimes they closed earlier on Saturday. In North-East England a few worked 11 hours, most of them worked 12. In Manchester they worked 12 hours (it will be noticed that this shows a considerable reduction since 1816). In Leeds it was sometimes 13 hours. In Coventry and Birmingham it was 9-10 hours. Overtime was sometimes worked from 1 hour to ½ an hour daily. Where water-power was still employed, the hours were very irregular, being sometimes as low as three hours a day in summer. In one factory the children were allowed to run out and play for ten minutes every hour and a half.† I do not say that these hours of labour were proper for children; I do not say that it was not iniquitous to work children for such hours; but these are not the hours given by Mr and Mrs Hammond.

'The Town Labourer' (p. 162) also tells us that at Peel's Committee, 'the employers or employers' spokesmen, with the exception of Robert Owen and Sir Robert Peel, ridiculed the idea that the children were over-worked.' This is not the case. Most of the employers said that they had not noticed signs of over-work in the children, but they did not all do so. Henry Houldsworth admitted that the temperature of the mills was bad for children, and that only strong children could stand the work. Samuel Stocks‡ declared that the children were unhealthy. J. Swainson said that he shortened the hours in his own factory, noting that the children were over-worked, and proposed to other manufacturers to do so also, but only one did. G. A. Lee refused to give an opinion on the subject.§ Arkwright said that night work

\* First Report, p. 78.

† Second Report, p. 10.

‡ Stocks was a master-weaver, and said spinning-mill children were unhealthy.

§ 'Peel's Report, 1816,' evidence of the individuals named.

produced deformity. Whitelegg, a retired master, said the children were very unhealthy. Wedgwood under cross-examination admitted that the labour and hours might be dangerous.

The same sort of statements are made about the hours of labour in the mines. 'The working day varied. For men it was often 12 hours, for women and children it was longer' ('Town Labourer,' p. 28). One would conclude from this that 12 hours was the shortest, or at least the usual time worked by men. But this is not the case. In the bad districts—Derby, Durham, and Eastern Scotland—far longer hours were often worked by men; but in West Yorkshire a man's day was 10-11 hours; in Bradford and Leeds the same; in Oldham, 8-10 hours; in Lancashire generally, 8-12; in Forest of Dean, 8-12; in south Gloucester, 8-10.\* 'There was thus little daylight for father or children out of the mine,' say our authors. 'The race lived underground' ('Town Labourer,' p. 28). Yet the Report of 1844 states that at all seasons the colliers had many idle days, that they always took a whole holiday after pay-day, and that they usually had some days off every week, especially in summer.

Mr and Mrs Hammond point out that no adequate machinery was provided for enforcing the first Factory Acts, the Acts of 1802, 1819, and 1825. The factories had to be inspected by a magistrate and a clergyman from the locality, and it was proved that only inspectors appointed and paid by the State could enforce the law. Mr and Mrs Hammond show that the Acts were often and grossly violated, and in illustration they quote the reports from factory inspectors in 1823-1824, found in the Home Office papers.† It seems strange that, when they are actually discussing the question of the enforcement of the Acts, they do not mention *why* these reports are to be found in the Home Office papers. They are there because at this time the Home Secretary, Mr. Peel, attempted to make the Acts effective by using his own authority. He circularised the magistrates ordering them to inspect the factories, report to him, and prosecute in all cases where the law had been broken. On several later occasions he

\* See the 'Report of the Coal Commission of 1844,' pp. 39 ff.

† H.O. 44. 14, and H.O. 52. 3.

intervened to enforce the Acts.\* Mr and Mrs Hammond never refer to this, and, far from giving Peel any credit for it, they accuse him of being 'much changed from the earlier Peel,' who had supported the Act of 1819 ('Town Labourer,' p. 170). In quoting from these reports, too, they only refer to cases where the Acts had been violated, and make no allusion to those reports which speak favourably of the factories visited.

One last criticism may be made on this subject. Out of a total of 329 pages, 'The Town Labourer' devotes 51 to the subject of the employment of children. Of these, 31 pages deal with the work of children in factories, 5 with the little miners, and 15 with chimney-sweeps. Now the employment of children as chimney-sweeps has no more connection with the Industrial Revolution than the employment of school teachers. It merely happened to be contemporary. This is shown clearly by the fact that the custom did not exist in other countries passing through the same economic phase; it was peculiar to England, save that it spread for a few years to Scotland. Not only so, but the Industrial Revolution, if anything, was likely to discourage it, by the invention of improved mechanical methods. The total number of boys employed in the trade was, according to an estimate quoted by Mr and Mrs Hammond, only about a thousand in the whole country. Why, then, devote almost one-third of the total space available to a trade of such small dimensions, and quite unconnected with the main subject of the book? The answer is obvious. The story of the chimney-sweeps is so terrible, that no one can read it without being shaken by pity and horror. Indignantly the reader flings the book aside, cries shame on the country that permitted such things, and readily agrees to any denunciation of the Government which happened to be contemporary with them. This is just what Mr and Mrs Hammond want; they do not aim at convincing our reason, but at rousing our feelings to such an extent that cold criticism may be forgotten.

We may turn next to the question of the Trade Unions. Where strikes and strikers are in question it is useless to expect an unprejudiced account from any writer of this

\* I have given a full account of Peel's efforts to enforce the Factory Acts in my 'Life of Peel,' pp. 72 ff.

school. From Mr and Mrs Sidney Webb downwards, they all represent the trade unionists as a set of injured heroes, and the Government and magistracy as cruel and unpardonable tyrants. It is impossible to gather, from books of this class, that trade unions of that period employed the most savage and vindictive methods, that murder was common, and shooting, beating, vitriol-throwing, etc., even commoner. It is difficult to understand why these writers should be overflowing with sympathy for the working man who was a Trade Unionist, and not have one grain of pity to spare for the blackleg, who is, more than any other individual in the community, the victim of a tyranny which refuses to him the rights and liberties which free men have always claimed. This side of the question, however, is always suppressed by writers of this school. Mr and Mrs Hammond, for example, give a full account of the repeal of the Combination laws ; \* but they do not explain why the repeal was subjected to revision next year ; they say it was merely due to the 'quarrels of masters and men,' and no reference is made to the real reason—the series of murders, or attempted murders, which had in the meantime been carried out by trade unionists in Glasgow and Dublin.

These things were the natural result of the Combination Laws of 1799–1800, which put the trade unions in an unfair position ; but it is absolutely necessary for any one who wishes to understand the conditions of the time to take this habitual violence into consideration. It was a vicious circle—unfair laws produced crime, and crime drove the masters to cling to the unjust laws for protection. This helps us to comprehend the nature of the opposition to the repeal of the Combination Laws ; to the manufacturers, who had been threatened and shot at, who saw their workmen terrorised and their mills destroyed, these laws sometimes appeared their only security.

Moreover, the Combination Laws do not explain the whole matter. These laws were repealed in 1824, but trade union outrages continued. It was in the 'thirties that a Glasgow blackleg was brutally murdered, and the

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\* It is hardly necessary to mention that they follow throughout the account given by Francis Place. I have shown elsewhere that Place's account is largely mythical. ('Sir Robert Peel,' pp. 75 f.)

whole trade union world united to make heroes of the murderers. The long series of Sheffield outrages was even later. In 1832, seven years after the repeal of the Combination Laws, a colliers' strike in the north of England produced two particularly revolting murders. An aged Welshman, acting as watchman at a pit where the miners were on strike, was assassinated in the presence of at least one hundred persons, who not only did not interfere, but absolutely refused to bear witness against the criminals. A magistrate, riding home from a meeting where he and his colleagues had been concerting measures for the preservation of the peace, met some strikers on the road. They begged of him; he said he had no money with him. One of them then said, 'Will you shake hands?' He held out his hand, the collier grasped it and pulled him from his pony, the rest set upon him, and the unfortunate magistrate was beaten to death.\*

Many similar cases could be given. I propose now to take the narratives of one or two strikes, as given by Mr and Mrs Hammond, and compare them with the Home Office papers, from which they are drawn. The first case is that of the Seamen's Strike at Shields and Sunderland in 1815. This was not a trade union strike of the ordinary type; but Mr and Mrs Hammond endeavour to show that, even where the conduct of the men was irreproachable and their rights indisputable, the conduct of the Government was unjust and hostile. The strike, they say, 'was suppressed after a long struggle *by the use of troops*. The cause of the strike was the conduct of the shipowners, who made a practice of undermanning their ships and refused, in spite of the appeals of the magistrates, to bind themselves to any fixed scale.' The magistrates, the troops, and the Home Office envoy sent down to investigate the case, all sympathised with the seamen, though disapproving of their methods. The envoy wrote to the Home Secretary, Lord Sidmouth, 'Ships from these ports have gone to sea shamefully deficient in strength to navigate them, and should ever the subject excite the attention of the legislature, hundreds of cases may be produced in which avarice had risked at sea a helpless insufficient crew in a crazy but highly insured ship.'

\* See H.O. 41. 11. Mr Phillips, June 25, 1836. H.O. 52. 19. Duke of Northumberland, June 14, 1832.

Cartwright, the envoy, was highly disgusted when he overheard a conversation among some of the shipowners, in which they openly declared that if forced to give way to the men, they would break their engagements on the first opportunity. 'In this case, although the men's demand commended itself as fundamentally just to persons who were shocked by their way of presenting it, no influence could prevent the masters from *taking complete advantage of the victory which they owed to the intervention of the forces of the Crown*, and magistrates continued to urge the Home Office in vain for measures to enforce some respect for human life on this formidable interest' ('Town Labourer,' pp. 28 f.; italics mine). On referring to the Home Office papers, we find that (1) the strike was *not* originally caused by 'the practice of the shipowners of undermanning their ships'; (2) the strike was *not* 'suppressed by the use of troops'; and (3) the masters did *not* 'win a victory by the aid of the forces of the Crown,' because they did not win a victory at all. The strike ended in a compromise, in which most of the men's demands were granted.

The real cause of the strike was the signing of the peace with France in 1814. Such a strike invariably accompanied the ending of a naval war in these ports. The large ships of Sunderland and Shields were particularly suitable for transports, were usually taken over by the Government, and then were paid off, and there was 'such an influx of seamen at these ports, that it is impossible for the owners of ships to find employment for them. Besides, having been long used to the superior advantages derived from the Transport Service, they are always very troublesome in endeavouring to establish the same regulations with respect to pay and the Ratio of Service, which they have been used to in that Service. Formerly this kind of disturbance was easily quieted in a very short time by arbitration, and I am convinced that this might very easily have been done upon the present occasion. . . . Unfortunately a different mode has been adopted.' \*

This great influx of men naturally resulted in a fall of wages, about January 1815. During the war, of course, wages had been very high, as much as 9*l.* per voyage, and

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\* H.O. 42. 146. Duke of Northumberland, Oct. 24, 1815.

ships had sailed with very small crews—3 men and 1 boy for the ships, for which the men now demanded 5 men and 1 boy, and for which the masters proposed 4 men and 2 boys.\* The strike thus began over a question of wages ; but when this seemed in a way to be settled, the question of manning the ships was brought up. Here the difference became more bitter, and the strike assumed dangerous dimensions. The men went round the ports, turned out all foreign seamen on board the ships by force, and this ‘ even in cases which bear particularly hard upon the owners, as a certain proportion of foreign seamen is required by law in foreign-built ships navigated under British licenses.’ †

The men, many of them newly discharged from the Navy, managed their affairs with admirable discipline and organisation. They seized a number of boats by which they guarded the harbours. Each ship, as it entered, was boarded and evacuated. No ship was allowed to leave without a special permit, and all men were given passes. Cartwright saw with his own eyes a seaman held up at ten miles from Sunderland, and forced to show his papers from the strike committee.‡ One ship was refused permission to sail, not because she was undermanned, but because the sailors would not pay 10s. each, their contribution to the union.§ All the men were obliged to attend the morning meetings, and those who absented themselves were tarred and feathered, and in one case ‘ exposed for some hours in a hastily-constructed pillory.’ ||

Meanwhile the whole coasting trade was held up ; hundreds of ships lay idle ; the coal trade was stopped, the northern mines on the verge of being forced to close down, throwing the miners out of work ; the seamen had already agitators working among the miners.¶ There were large arsenals in the neighbourhood, most ineffectively guarded.\*\* In these circumstances it is not

\* H.O. 42. 146. Cartwright, Oct. 17; Gray, Oct. 14, 1815.

† H.O. 42. 146. Mayor of Newcastle, Aug. 14, 1815.

‡ H.O. 42. 146. Cartwright, Oct. 17, 1815.

§ H.O. 42. 146. Mayor of Newcastle, Oct. 7, 1815.

|| H.O. 42. 146. Cartwright, Oct. 14, 1815.

¶ H.O. 42. 146. Mayor of Newcastle, Oct. 7, 1815.

\*\* H.O. 42. 146. Genl. Riall, Sept. 26, Duke of Northumberland, Oct. 24, 1815.

surprising that the Government, though thinking the men's demands 'fundamentally just,' were sufficiently alarmed as to send down troops and a sloop of war. The magistrates explained that they only wished to have the troops at hand in case of necessity, and that they would only resort to coercion 'in the very last extremity.\*'

In the meantime the magistrates continued to urge the masters to accede to the men's demands. The masters were ready to do this, but, hoping to be able to back out of it later, they refused to print the terms, as this would give the men a hold over them. The magistrates would take no step to restore order; the seamen were left to their own free will. At last the masters gave in; on Oct. 21 they consented to print the terms. Concessions had been made as to the manning of the ships; † a rise of wages was granted; and there were now enough ships in port to give employment to all the seamen there. The men's demands had not been granted in their entirety, but they had obtained nearly all they asked for, and the terms were regarded as fair both by their well-wishers and by all the men themselves except a few 'idle dissolute fellows, whom few will employ, good for nothing at sea,' as Cartwright said. ‡ As these still refused to give in, the magistrates decided to act at last. The warships seized the seamen's boats, and allowed those who wished to accept the settlement to sail free from molestation.

\* H.O. 42. 146. Mayor of Newcastle, Oct. 7.

† I append a table of the terms as to the manning of ships, compiled from the papers in H.O. 41. 146, especially Gray's letter of Oct. 14, and Nesfield's of Oct. 23, 1815.

Keels.	Men's Proposals.			Masters' Proposals.			Impartial Judge.			Actual Settlement.		
	Men	Boys		Men.	Boys.		Men.	Boys.		Men.	Boys.	
6	5	1		4	2		5	1		4		2
7	5	2		5	2		5	2		5		2
8	6	2		5	2		6	2		5		2
9	6	3		6	2		6	2		6		2
10	7	3		6	3		7	2		6		3
11	7	3		7	2		7	2		7		2
12	8	3		7	3		8	2		8		2
13	9	2		7	4		9	2		8		3
14	9	2		8	3		9	3		9		2
15	11	2		8	3		10	3		9		3

NOTE.—It will be seen (1) that the 'impartial judge thought the masters' terms too low, but also thought the men's terms too high;' (2) that the actual settlement differed very little from the 'impartial judge's' terms, being in four cases the same, in four cases the shipping of a boy instead of a man, and in two cases one man less.

‡ H.O. 42. 146. Oct. 14, 1815.

Throughout the whole affair there was no bloodshed, no violent collision between the troops and the strikers, and the troops did not act until a fair settlement had been obtained. This is what Mr and Mrs Hammond call 'putting down the strike by military force.'\* Throughout the affair, Lord Sidmouth wrote repeatedly to urge that no one should be prosecuted except those who had shown themselves 'prominent offenders,' and that 'the seamen . . . may find that all resentment has ceased with their misconduct . . . and that that liberality and consideration may be manifested by the shipowners which is due to British seamen.'†

I will now take another instance, to be found in 'The Town Labourer,' pp. 73 f.

'Until Peel's advent the Home Office appear to have done nothing or next to nothing to discourage illegalities on the part of the magistrates, and the law-officers on one occasion set an example in proposing to violate the principles of what Bacon calls "clear and round dealing" between men. This was in 1802, when there were disturbances in the south-west over the introduction of gig-mills. A number of shearmen waited, by invitation, on a manufacturer named Jones to discuss the situation; the meeting broke up without result, and the delegates, seven in number, told the manufacturer that the shearmen throughout the country were united in their opposition to the new machinery. The account of these proceedings was sent to the Home Office, and it bears the following remarkable endorsement: "We are of opinion that the Conduct of the Individuals who came to Mr Jones's House will support an indictment for a Conspiracy, and we should recommend an Indictment to be prepared and sent down to the Assizes for Wiltshire charging these seven men with such Conspiracy and that Mr Hobhouse and the other persons present with Mr Jones should attend at the Assizes to go before the Grand Jury with the Bill. (Signed) Sp. Perceval. Thos. Manners Sutton." This tempting invitation was declined by the employers, but the methods of justice revealed in the Home Office papers were in keeping with this proposal.'

For this statement we are referred to H.O. 42. 65.

\* See H.O. 42. 146. Cartwright, Oct. 14 and Oct. 17; Gray, Oct. 21 and Oct. 23; Town Clerk of Newcastle, Oct. 22; Nesfield, Oct. 23.

† H.O. 42. 146. Sidmouth to Gray, Oct. 25; to Duke of Northumberland, Oct. 25; to Cartwright, Oct. 20, 1815.

On turning to this, the first letter that appears is from Mr Jones himself. He writes that for three weeks past the country has been in a turmoil ; last Thursday a mob of shearers came to his factory, and for the space of half an hour fired through the windows of the factory and the overseer's house, ' ball, slug, and small shot.' Fortunately the factory was empty, but the overseer's little children only escaped by crawling under the beds. The rioters were well armed, for most of them were discharged militia-men who had bought their muskets.\*

The rioting continued. Between April 22 and July 23, ricks were fired on four occasions ; shots were fired in at blacklegs' windows twice, and twice in at masters' windows ; a cart of cloth, value 200*l.*, was destroyed ; a master received an anonymous letter threatening murder ; a barn and stable were burned ; an unoccupied house was burned ; two mills were burned, with a loss of 1500*l.* and 5000*l.* respectively ; and another mill was threatened, but troops arrived in time to save it.† The shearers were known to be directed in these affairs by a committee of thirteen sitting at Trowbridge, and they openly boasted that they were receiving funds and encouragement from Leeds.‡

According to Mr and Mrs Hammond, the shearers were now 'invited' to see Mr Jones. Jones himself merely says that he 'had previous notice of their intention' of coming. He invited Mr Benjamin Hobhouse, M.P., with several others, including his own father, to be present. Mr Jones first asked the shearers how many unemployed there were in the parish. They replied, about thirty. He then offered to give employment to all these, 'rather than use the frames for the cutting [sic] and shearing of cloth whilst any such men should want work, and added that in future no gigging or shearing should be done by him in account of other manufacturers.' This offer 'they rejected on behalf of the body of shearers who deputed them, and declared it was the resolution of the shearers throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland not to work after machinery,' while one of them 'declared

\* H.O. 42. 65. Mr Jones, July 18, 1802.

† H.O. 42. 65. Jones, July 20 and July 30 ; Wiltshire Magistrates, July 24 ; Memorial of the Inhabitants of Melksham, July 26, 1802.

‡ H.O. 42. 65. Jones, July 20 ; Jones Senior, July 26.

he would rather be hung [*sic*] than recommend the Shearmen to accept Mr Jones's offer or to work after machinery.\*

It was in answer to this report that the Law Officers recommended the prosecution of the seven delegates. This is hardly surprising, when we remember that those delegates came to Mr Jones as the recognised representatives of an organisation which, as a combination, was illegal under the Acts of 1800, and which destroyed property, committed arson, bore arms, and threatened individuals with murder. Mr Jones replied to the Home Office that 'the seven men who came to my house . . . were promised that no advantage should be taken of their attendance on that occasion by the Person who persuaded them to see me,' and begged that the prosecution might be withdrawn, which it accordingly was.† I do think Mr and Mrs Hammond might have given poor Mr Jones the credit of keeping his promise.

The next instance which I shall take is that of the miners' strike in the west in 1822. At this time the 'Truck' or 'Tommy' system still existed in some districts, and wages were partly paid in goods instead of money. In 1822, in the Wellington district, 'the employers decided to recoup themselves for a fall in the price of iron, not only by reducing wages, but by raising prices in their "Tommy-shops." Of this, wrote a correspondent, "the men have now availed themselves as a plausible and (I may safely add) a real cause of complaint." So says 'The Town Labourer' (p. 68). On consulting the letter of this correspondent ‡ we find that he says nothing of prices being raised in the 'tommy-shops'; what he says is that 'the present price of iron will not permit the makers even to save themselves from loss, and the alternative of stopping their works is so disastrous that they are anxious by any expedient to avoid it, which has given rise to the system of truck.' This seems to imply that the system had just been started. It also tells us of the motive of the masters' action—for this happened at a time when profits were extremely low, and failures and bankruptcies common. The miners struck. 'The magis-

\* Jones' Report, July 26, 1802. H.O. 42. 65.

† H.O. 42. 65. Jones, July 30, 1802.

‡ H.O. 40. 16. Mr Curtis, May 5, 1822.

trates,' Mr and Mrs Hammond continue (p. 68), 'gave their attention to the subject with remarkable results. In the first place the two parson magistrates of Bilston wrote to the Home Office enlarging on the merits and popularity of the Truck system.'

I have not been able to discover any letter from the parson magistrates of Bilston 'enlarging on the merits of the truck system.' I will, however, give an extract from a letter of Mr Clare, parson-magistrate of Bilston. He wrote that he and his fellow-magistrates had met the employers. 'With the quantum of wages between them . . . we have neither the power nor the inclination to interfere. But as to the mode of paying which in the cant word of the miners is called *Tommy*, that is by provisions, *we felt that we had both the will and the power to punish.*'\* Mr. Clare here does not seem very sensible of the 'merits of the truck system.'

'The magistrates' ['The Town Labourer' continues, p. 69] ' . . . then proceeded to issue a handbill stating that . . . they were convinced that the men were receiving 2s. 6d. to 3s. a day, "with the advantage of three pints of pit drink and firing for their families, and can, at the present moment, generally have full employment"; that the practice of paying otherwise than in money was rare and that they intended to put into force the Vagrant Act. . . . The men, refused the protection of the law for their legal rights, adopted violent measures for checking the supply of labour, "cutting the ropes and ducking and half drowning blacklegs." In the course of an affair between a mob of colliers waiting for some returning blacklegs and the soldiers, a collier was shot and killed. In this district there was one magistrate who thought that laws ought to be put in force even if the powerful classes disliked them. He was a parson in Wolverhampton named Haden,'

and there follows a description of how Haden prosecuted some masters for paying in truck.

On turning to the Home Office papers, we are interested to find that this very Parson Haden, so much praised by Mr and Mrs Hammond, was one of the men who signed the magistrates' handbill, which Mr and Mrs Hammond object to. We may perhaps conclude therefore that the handbill was a fair and accurate statement of the case, especially as it was also signed by Mr Clare, who 'had

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\* Mr Clare, April 24, 1822. H.O. 40. 17. Italics mine.

both the will and the power to punish' the Tommy-shop masters.\* Shortly after this, the magistrates of the district, headed by the Lord Lieutenant, met the masters, and induced them to promise to give up the practice of paying in truck entirely.† This is what Mr and Mrs Hammond call 'refusing the men the protection of the law for their legal rights.'

Next we come to the affair of the shot collier. Mr Leigh of Bilston was called out to protect the blacklegs working down a pit, who were threatened with murder when they came up. He called up the special constables and hurried to the spot. A large crowd of strikers stoned them. Mr Leigh began to read the Riot Act, which was knocked from his hand by a stone. He got the blacklegs away safely, but not until almost all his constables were wounded, some severely, and one of the rioters killed by a pistol-shot, fired without orders by an unknown individual.‡ During these riots, Mr and Mrs Hammond tell us, 'the Vicar of Abergavenny put himself at the head of the yeomanry and the Greys. He wrote to the Home Office in great spirits about it, adding that all that remained was to apprehend the rioters, "and then I shall be able to return to my clerical duties"' ('Town Labourer,' p. 269).

The Vicar of Abergavenny, Mr Powell, was a magistrate, and was called upon in that capacity to accompany the troops, who were sent to guard a convoy of coals. They had been warned that an attack was intended, and it was obviously Mr Powell's duty not to let the troops go unaccompanied by a civil magistrate. The convoy was

\* Mr Leigh investigated the matter very carefully. He found that only one-fifth of the total number of colliers were ever paid otherwise than entirely in money, and that those who were paid in money were just as disorderly as those paid in truck. Samuel Brooks, a collier, brought before him for wilful damage, confessed that he was one of seven colliers who signed an address to the public, representing that they were only getting 2s. 6d. a day, when they were in fact getting 3s. Mr Leigh was the third magistrate to sign the handbill. (H.O. 40. 17. Leigh, May 18, 1822.)

Mr Haden's letter on the truck prosecution, which is quoted in full by Mr and Mrs Hammond, is in H.O. 40. 17. He enclosed a tommy-ticket in it. It has always struck me as odd that while Mr Haden's letter is dated May 22, 1822, the tommy-ticket which he 'procured from one of the complainants' is dated 1820.

† H.O. 40. 17. Duke of Beaufort, April 28, 1822.

‡ H.O. 40. 17. Leigh, May 1, 1822.

attacked, but was rescued, and the rioters driven off without injury to any one. Mr and Mrs Hammond do not quote the whole of Mr Powell's letter. He wrote that trade was now improving, and that the masters hoped to be able to give a rise in wages next quarter-day ; nothing remained but to apprehend the *four leaders of the most dangerous riot*, ‘and then I shall be able to return to my clerical duties, with the heartfelt satisfaction of having firmly upheld the laws of my country on this trying occasion, and of having contributed to *bring back these deluded men to their duty without shedding one drop of blood.*’ \*

This last story leads us to the consideration of the Truck System itself. Mr and Mrs Hammond speak of it as an unmitigated evil—simply one more effort of the upper classes to oppress the poor. As a matter of fact the Truck System originally arose from two causes : one was the scarcity of small coin in the country districts ; the other was the difficulty of obtaining supplies at a time when communication was undeveloped. This last is the reason why truck was most common in the mining towns, which were often situated in very remote places. In some cases the issue of truck-tickets by masters was connected with the development of banking. In other cases, masters of out-of-the-way mills and mines supplied their workpeople, not only with houses, but with food, beds, and even clothing. In both cases the custom was instituted for the convenience of the work-people, though it † afterwards was much abused. But no hint of this is given by Mr and Mrs Hammond. On p. 50 of ‘The Town Labourer’ they actually condemn the practice of some of the Manchester masters of paying their men in public-houses, without mentioning the reason for this, which was that only in the public-houses could small change be obtained, small change in Manchester being then at a premium of 3d. or 6d. in the 1l. ‡

The Home Office records are not accessible to every one, and even blue-books are not always to be had ; it might be thought that in dealing with books of general interest, more care might be taken by our authors. But the same

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\* H.O. 40. 17. April 19, April 18, 1822 ; Moggridge, April 21, 1822. Italics mine.

† See Unwin : ‘Samuel Oldknow and the Arkwrights,’ ch. xii.

‡ H.O. 42. 84. Mr Norris, Feb. 3, 1819.

airy methods are adopted everywhere. In illustration of this we may take the case of 'The Mendip Annals,' by Hannah and Martha More. Such statements are made about this poor little book as I can only account for by supposing that Mr and Mrs Hammond skipped large portions of it. It is the history of twenty years spent in educating the poor in some west country villages. At the beginning of the period crime was rife in the district, filth and immorality almost universal; most of the poor had no religious teaching at all, some having never heard the name of Christ used save as an oath; there were no ordinary day schools for the poor; in one village, Blagden, 'thieving had been handed down from father to son for the last forty years,' and the magistrates dared not approach it; in another (where these two ladies went alone), no constable ever ventured to arrest a criminal, 'lest he should be concealed in one of their pits and never heard of again; no uncommon case.'\* At the end of the twenty years, the villages were clean and cheerful, crime was practically unknown, the standard of morality was much higher, and the upper classes had been led to take a friendly interest in the fortunes of their poor employees. The whole of this work was done by the More sisters out of pure good-will; the expense was borne by Wilberforce (which Mr and Mrs Hammond do not mention).

It might be thought that this long and devoted labour would have appealed to the sympathies of Mr and Mrs Hammond; but on the contrary, it receives no reward from them but sarcasm and mockery. Why? Because, it soon appears, Hannah More thought fit to begin by teaching the poor the principles of Christianity, whereas she ought, according to Mr and Mrs Hammond, to have taught them the principles of Socialism. It may be noted that 'The Town Labourer' gives the impression that the Mores undertook nothing but religious work. There are repeated sneers at them for neglecting the bodily wants of the poor in order to teach them the 'first twenty chapters of Genesis.' But though the Mores began with Sunday schools, they established day schools as soon as they could do so. They also started benefit societies, two of which, at the end of twenty years, included three

\* 'Mendip Annals,' p. 187.

hundred members, had paid out 1200*l.* in benefit, and had a capital of 1200*l.* Each school had its biennial treat, where the poor got a day's holiday, a rattling good dinner, and an excursion to the country. Each woman pupil who married was presented by the Mores with a Bible, 5*s.*, and a pair of stockings knitted by Hannah, and so forth.

It seems a little hard to expect two maiden ladies to head a revolution, but this is evidently what Mr and Mrs Hammond think the Mores should have done.

' From beginning to end of "The Mendip Annals" [they tell us] ' there is not a single reflection on the persons or the system responsible for these conditions. It never seems to have crossed the minds of these philanthropists that it was desirable that men and women should have decent wages, or decent homes, or that there was something wrong with the arrangements of a society that left the mass of people in this plight. . . . The employers and gentry are sometimes blamed . . . for their want of sympathy with the efforts of the More sisters to teach religion. They are nowhere blamed for ill-treating their dependants, or told that they have any duties except the duty of encouraging them to listen to Hannah More on the importance of obedience, and on the claims to their regard and gratitude of a Providence that had lavished such attention on them ' ('Town Labourer,' p. 227).

Against this I will set some quotations from the 'Mendip Annals,' chosen almost at random.

' In September we opened, with upwards of 100 poor little dirty wretched-looking creatures, half starved amid the voluptuous eating of this *ancient corporation* ' (p. 42, *italics* Miss More's).

' Hard-hearted farmers, little cold country gentry, a supercilious and ignorant corporation ' (p. 55).

' What all our labour of love and teaching could not effect, one feast has completely brought to pass. The rich, frigid farmers of Banwell, once so hostile to us, could not endure the disgrace of their ragged parish at the dinner. They have therefore united, made a purse, given the boys all a handsome blue coat and the girls a shawl ' (p. 95).

' To behold the great ignorant farmers every Sunday sitting the whole day with the people they *oppress and trample on* during the week, listening to these poor children, and those who are not quite brutes endeavouring to teach ! ' (p. 70, *italics mine*).

'When the clergyman, a hard man, who is also the magistrate, saw these creatures kneeling around us, whom he had seldom seen but to commit or punish, he burst into tears' (p. 168).

Miss More's sarcasm can be more scathing than any denunciation: 'The rector,' an absentee, 'now made his first annual appearance. He went to the house, talked very civilly to (the teacher), examined the children, praised the institution, applauded the evening reading, looked at the books . . . left them half a guinea, received his tithes, and marched off' (p. 25). The chief object of the Mores was to break down the barrier between classes, and to make the employers feel their common humanity with their people. The employing class in the district were chiefly 'gentlemen' farmers, grossly ignorant, sometimes unable to read themselves. Naturally they did not want their labourers to be better educated than themselves. The Mores could only carry on their work by flattering and coaxing these 'petty tyrants' ('Mendip Annals,' p. 17). Therefore Hannah More kept her bitter comments to herself. She did not denounce the farmers at the market cross. She did not teach her little pupils to hate their cruel oppressors, but to love Jesus Christ. This is what Mr and Mrs Hammond cannot pardon her.

A hundred passages throughout 'The Town Labourer' show us that the arousing of this class prejudice is one of the objects of these writers themselves. We are told repeatedly of the callous indifference with which the rich regarded the sufferings of the poor.

'The working classes were regarded as persons incapable of profiting by leisure, and fit only for the long discipline of factory hours.'

'The view of the ruling classes was well illustrated in the case of a child of ten who was sentenced to death in 1800 for secreting notes at the Chelmsford Post Office.'

Society 'accepted the standard misery of the poor as a recognised and indispensable condition of national welfare.'

'The ruling class assumed that any punishment was just if it tended to make property secure.'

'To deter was the only recognised duty of the state to this class.'

'The English nation was in the hands of men who regarded the idea of citizenship as a challenge to their religion and

their civilisation ; who deliberately sought to make the inequalities of life the basis of the state, and to emphasize and perpetuate the position of the workpeople as a subject class' ('Town Labourer,' pp. 49, 75, 194, 304, 321, 325).

These statements are the more remarkable because, throughout this book, with all its exaggerations, we find repeated references to members of the callous upper class, who spent their lives working to better the condition of the poor. To all these examples Mr and Mrs Hammond give the same answer ; they were ' exceptions.' 'There have always been Englishmen who could break through the prejudices of their class . . . but the general temper was reflected in the minds of Sidmouth or Parson Hay or Fletcher of Bolton' ('Town Labourer,' p. 79). But these ' exceptions ' were frequently the very men whom Mr and Mrs Hammond, in another context, condemn as tyrants. The Manchester magistrate whom they praise for urging that the payment of wages in public-houses should be prohibited, was the same Mr Norris who gave the order for the cavalry to charge at Peterloo ('Town Labourer,' pp. 50, 90). On one and the same page, Mr. Haden of Wolverhampton is praised for enforcing the Truck Acts and condemned for signing the handbill issued against the Wellington strikers (see above, p. 58). In 1823 we find a local magistrate urging upon the Home Office the necessity of strengthening the Factory Laws ; he wanted the legal day of twelve hours much reduced, factories to be inspected four times a year instead of once, and paid inspectors to be appointed, at the expense of the cotton-masters themselves. Who was this magistrate, who expressed sentiments that Robert Owen or Shaftesbury might have spoken ? It was none other than the wicked Colonel Fletcher of Bolton, whom Mr and Mrs Hammond never tire of execrating.\* Shaftesbury in his turn was an ardent enemy of the trade unions, which he thought a gross tyranny. Some of the warmest friends of the working-classes were hide-bound Tories who opposed the Reform Bill. Brougham, who did so much for the people's education, thought the state should give no help to the poor in case of unemployment or illness. Many more cases might be cited.

The fact is that all thinking men of the upper classes,

\* H.O. 521. 3. Col. Fletcher's Report.

far from being regardless of the people's sufferings, were deeply concerned with them. But the problem of bettering the condition of the poor was not so simple as Mr and Mrs Hammond appear to think, nor were the rights and wrongs of the question so clear as they pretend. The men of that time, like the men of to-day, were human and fallible; each had his own theory of what was best to be done, and not infrequently they clashed. But can we afford to condemn them for that?

'In this new world,' Mr and Mrs Hammond declare, '... the spirit of fellowship was dead' (*Town Labourer*, p. 329).

Perhaps they can give us the date of its decease? Was it in the age of Walpole and corruption that it expired, or the age when Leighton had his ears cropped and Laud thanked God for it, or when half the English People were serfs, or when William the Bastard laid waste Northumbria, or perhaps when Hengist and Horsa swept back the Britons? But why ask for a precise date? The remark is purely farcical when we recollect that it was made of the age that produced Wilberforce and Wesley, Hannah More and Mrs Fry; Romilly and Mackintosh; Shaftesbury and Joseph Hume; Brougham and Peel; Henry Erskine, of whom a poor countryman said, 'There's no a puir man in a' Scotland need want a friend or fear an enemy while Harry Erskine lives'; Sadler and Fielden and Robert Owen; Oastler, the Factory King; Richard Martin, the first friend of dumb beasts; Edward Gibbon Wakefield, Samuel Whitbread, Francis and Leonard Horner, Edwin Chadwick, John Howard—and, above all, those two who asserted the brotherhood of man and the freedom of the human soul as scarcely another ever did—Walter Scott and William Wordsworth.

A. A. W. RAMSAY.

## Art. 5.—POPLAR AND POPLARISM.

1. *Parish of Poplar, Report of Special Inquiry into the Expenditure of the Guardians.* By H. I. Cooper. Published by His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1922.
2. *Annual Report of the Ministry of Health, 1926–1927 and 1927–1928.* Published by His Majesty's Stationery Office.

AFTER all the notoriety that Poplar has received in recent years it is well to recognise the fact that we owe Poplar a debt. When one is rebuilding a house or a constitution, it is as well to have the model of the finished thing before us. Plato said that the Pattern of the Perfect City was laid in heaven. We can do better, so far as the perfect Socialist city is concerned, by going to Poplar.

The history of Poplar, the result of the Socialist experiment which has been made there during the past thirty years, deserves to be better known. ‘Poplarism has had a long run in Poplar.’ We can now judge it by the results, and decide whether it is worth repeating and extending on a national scale. According to Mr Pringle, who has followed this experiment from the beginning : ‘The theory was that the spirit responded ill to the stimulus of want, and degenerated under the shadow of insecurity. We were told what to expect from the removal of both, and, if these expectations have been fulfilled, we must in equity commend the experiment and continue it.’\* He proceeds to test the results by standards intellectual, æsthetic, and athletic, in its education, concerts, dramas, lectures, art exhibitions, churches. Does Poplar show a noteworthy example in these matters ? He goes on to say :

‘The present writer was assured hundreds of times in Poplar, in the early years of the century, that these were the things the people really yearned for, but could not get because of their poverty ; in a Socialist state—which they have now had for some years—they would show their craving for them.’

In sombre and vivid words Mr Pringle sets down, as seen

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\* ‘Can London climb out of the Slough of Despond?’ by the Rev. J. C. Pringle, C.O.S.

by a social expert, who has been trained to observe and describe the conditions under which the poor live, the result of this experiment in Poplar. He writes :

' Is it not nearer the truth to say that Poplar contains two populations, one of which comes in by day to work, and pays the rates and taxes, and the other which stays there, and lives on them ? Was it for nothing that the interference with traffic in the Strike was more serious in Poplar than elsewhere ? The responsible head of an evening institute in Poplar, describing his work the other day, nearly broke down. He was at a loss for words to describe the atmosphere in which he was attempting to work : an atmosphere without hope, without interest, without life or activity—dead. Poplarism, which has now spread to Bermondsey, Greenwich, Southwark, Bethnal Green, and Stepney, is a well-defined experiment based on a clear theory. We know the nature of it, the measure of it, and the results of it.'

Poplar is important, not for itself, but because it represents a tendency which is spreading in Poor Law administration, and in municipal life. In Poplar we can isolate it, and study its origin, causes, and growth ; and measure what amount of success it has achieved. The Poplar experiment will occupy an important chapter in the history of the Poor Law. Yet, curiously, Poplarism is no new thing. It is merely a reproduction of a social experiment made at the beginning of the last century, which led to the Commission of 1832. Lord Althorp, when introducing the Bill in 1834, traced the prevalent evils to one cause :

' The magistrates acted largely on this power (the power to order relief to be given to the poor in their own homes), and the consequences had gone from bad to worse until all sense of independence had been nearly extinguished ; and instead of placing the poor in a state of comfort, the labouring population, in many districts, had been reduced to misery and distress.'

Mr Senior, one of the principal framers of the measure, stated : ' The objects of the Act are two—First to raise the labouring classes, that is to say, the bulk of the community, from the idleness, improvidence, and degradation into which the maladministration of the laws for their relief had thrown them ; and secondly, to arrest immediately the progress, and ultimately to diminish the

amount of pressure on the owners of lands and houses.' The principles, recommended by the Commission, which restored prosperity to the country and, in the words of Mr Gladstone, rescued the English peasantry from the total loss of their independence, are as follows : No man shall be suffered to perish through the lack of what is necessary to sustain life; but if he be supported at the expense of the public, he must be content to receive such support on the terms deemed most consistent with the public welfare. And the position of the recipient shall not be made really or apparently so eligible as the situation of the independent workman maintaining himself by his own labour.

The result of the Poplar experiment has been to put back the clock there one hundred years. In Poplar and in those unions which are following its example, the earlier state of affairs is being reproduced. The Poplar theory of state maintenance depends upon two principles. The first is that every working man, whether in work or out, shall receive his full trade union wage. The second is that it is the duty of the State to bring the work to the man, and not the duty of the man to go and seek work. Poplarism and the Poor Law, as laid down by the 1834 Commission, are two directly opposite and conflicting principles, fighting to-day for the soul of the nation.

It may be interesting here, briefly, to subject Poplarism to the acid test of figures. In London, the annual cost of out-relief rose from 639,900*l.* to 3,562,000*l.* between 1921 and 1927. In the nine unions which reflect more or less the policy of Poplar, expenditure increased from 239,700*l.* to 2,744,400*l.* In the remaining sixteen unions expenditure increased from 384,200*l.* to 817,700*l.* While London spent in the year ending March 1921, on out-relief, 623,900*l.* Poplar spent, in the year ending March 1927, 689,750*l.* To take the wider survey of England and Wales. According to the Ministry of Health Report for the year ending March 31, 1926, there were twelve unions with a proportion of one in ten of the population receiving relief. Two others very closely approached this proportion. In these fourteen unions the spirit of Poplarism is either the governing or a preponderating factor. 'It is difficult,' remarks the Report, 'to avoid the view that the policy and method of administration adopted by one

or more Boards of Guardians in each of these areas has had a substantial effect upon the numbers relieved in the Unions adjacent to their own.'

Yet, Poplar has not always been as it is to-day. Within the memory of many living persons Poplar was a quiet, respectable district, full of decent working people who earned a good livelihood in the then flourishing mills, factories, railways, and docks. There was little pauperism; and judging by the industries, and the numbers of people employed, and its exceptional position at the entrance of the largest and busiest Port and the greatest and richest city in the world, there was little reason to suspect that pauperism would come to this apparently favoured spot.

Sir William Chance, in a letter to the '*Times*' (April 20, 1927), refers to the report of Sir James Davey in 1906. He shows that between 1894 and 1904 indoor paupers increased from a mean number of 2623 to 3465. Out-door relief numbers increased in the same years from 2295 to 3677. 'In 1891 the rate of pauperism in Poplar was the same as that of London, but from that point Poplar went ahead, the difference being very marked from 1893 and onwards.' Mr George Lansbury was reported as saying that 'in a district like Poplar pauperism was bound to grow, and that the only real permanent remedy was Socialism.' Well! Mr Lansbury has brought Socialism to Poplar, and has governed Poplar for many years, walking in the straitest tenets of the Law of Socialism. And what do we find? Sir William Chance, in 1927, referring to the Unions of West Ham, Chester-le-Street, and Bedwellty, continues :

'The case of the Poplar Union seems to me to be a far worse one, and the two inquiries made into its administration of poor relief (i.e. in 1906 and 1922) might well have been followed by similar action on the part of the Minister in its case. I can recommend any one who wishes to have full information as to the baneful effects of that administration, to get and read the pamphlet entitled "The Story of Poplar."'

Mr Geoffrey Drage, writing to the '*Times*', said :

'My first acquaintance with the poorer districts of Poplar and Fulham dates forty years back, and I recollect my astonishment at the similarity between the two Unions. To-day one can find poor neighbourhoods in Fulham which

would compare with anything in Poplar. While the people of Poplar have good work at their doors in the railway, docks, and factories . . . the Fulham people have to go to a distance to their work. In Poplar there is far more work, and well-paid work, than in Fulham.

The parallel between Fulham and Poplar will undoubtedly become famous in the history of Poor Law administration. Both are riverside boroughs ; both have much the same population, area, and rateable value. Both have small slum areas—Fulham probably with the worse. Opportunities for labour would certainly lie with Poplar ; indeed, many residents at Fulham work regularly in Poplar. As regards the death rate Mr Pringle writes : ‘It is striking that a rate of eleven shillings and no assistance from the Metropolitan Common Poor Fund gave Fulham a death rate of 11·1 in the year 1924–25, while a rate of twenty-three shillings plus a subsidy of half a million a year from the Fund gives Poplar a death rate of 12·1.’ Fulham spent on out-relief in the year 1922–23, 26,400*l.*; while Poplar spent 588,600*l.* Fulham *paid* into the Common Fund 5600*l.*, while Poplar received almost exactly 500,000*l.*

The expenditure of Fulham on Poor Law worked out at 18*s.* per head, while that of Poplar came to 5*l.* 14*s.* 9*d.* Poplar is run on the principles of the extreme section of the Socialist Party ; while Fulham had the advantage of the President of the Association of Poor Law Unions as its chairman and guide. I was able recently to spend an afternoon in Fulham with the Rev. P. S. G. Propert, and was struck with the bonny, sturdy appearance of the children, and their attractive Sunday clothes. Any one who wants evidence of the wisdom of sound Poor Law legislation, over a number of years combined with devoted parish work, should visit Fulham and see the children at their school Festivals. Here the two principles are starkly opposed. ‘The Lansbury family and their disciples have argued for twenty-five years and more that to prevent starvation in Poplar they must spend enormous sums in relief. Fulham, led by Mr Propert, have argued during the same period that to prevent starvation they must keep down out-door relief.’ One has only to pay a visit to the two boroughs to answer the question : which has been the more successful ?

The financial position of Poplar is peculiar, and very advantageous to the borough. The statement of the M.C.P.F. for the half year ending Sept. 30, 1927, shows that for a payment into the Fund of 53,605*l.*, Poplar receives back 304,659*l.* Thus we may say, roughly, that for an annual contribution of 100,000*l.* Poplar has been receiving 600,000*l.* from the Fund. But this is not the whole story. Of this 100,000*l.* contributed from the Poplar rates, three-fifths, or 60,000*l.*, is contributed by commercial and business houses, docks, and railways; and 40,000*l.* by residents actually living in Poplar and paying rates, and recording their votes, if they desire to do so.

With these facts before one it is difficult to speak of the hard case of Poplar, and of the intolerable burden and hardship that Poplar suffers through the care of its destitute poor. A very large proportion of this money was, of course, distributed in out-relief to residents living in their homes within the borough. It was spent in food, clothing, tobacco, drink, and amusements in Poplar—to the benefit of people who did no work, and of tradesmen whose business was thereby increased enormously. Two kinds of vested interest in the out-relief has been built up in Poplar: the class of recipients, and the class of traders. The adult recipients of relief for over a year may be estimated at about 25,000, all of whom have the local franchise. To these must be added relations, neighbours, and friends, who naturally sympathise with their good fortune; and a very large number of shopkeepers and innkeepers who wish to share in it. All these persons would be prepared to support the policy of the Guardians at the next Guardians' Election, and to encourage the extension of this out-relief to any extent. The burden does not fall upon Poplar, but upon those outside, viz. the unfortunate firms who have business premises in Poplar, and the unfortunate ratepayers in other boroughs. It was not surprising to find that in the 1925 Guardians' Election, the Socialists swept the Board, and the Moderate Party did not return a single candidate.

Putting aside for the moment any question of vested interest in the out-relief, it was a manifest impossibility for the members of the Poplar Board to check, had they desired to do so, the flood of persons who applied for

and received assistance through 1921 and 1922. There is no question that the sheer weight of expenditure of some 600,000*l.* a year, among some 28,000 recipients, broke down the whole machinery of administration. The relieving officers were harassed, burdened, and intimidated ; the Relief Committees were overwhelmed. Chaos and confusion reigned. Expenditure went up by leaps and bounds. Even had they desired to check the tide at the flood, the twenty-eight Guardians were helpless. Apparently they let things take their course. The extent of the flood may be estimated by the following figures, which are taken from the Cooper Report of 1922, p. 4 :

Week ending	Total number of persons.	Total number of cases.	Weekly total relief excluding non-settled poor.	Total able-bodied cases.
Oct. 30, 1920	4,493	1,955	£1,691	205
Nov. 27	5,269	2,174	1,879	327
Dec. 25	5,695	2,301	2,528	418
Jan. 26, 1921	7,613	2,874	2,588	840
Feb. 26	10,834	3,703	3,685	1,531
March 26	12,144	4,042	4,051	1,858
April 30	13,566	4,413	4,318	2,099
May 28	13,720	4,464	4,457	2,130
June 25	12,924	4,263	4,316	2,010
July 30	15,231	5,083	5,611	2,608
Aug. 27	16,547	5,496	6,135	3,002
Sept. 24	19,177	6,606	7,520	3,869
Oct. 29	22,262	7,893	8,975	5,132
Nov. 26	21,670	7,414	8,684	4,507
Dec. 31	21,553	7,302	7,724	4,219
Jan. 28, 1922	23,196	7,818	8,693	4,582
Feb. 25	23,993	8,200	8,622	4,795
March 25	24,944	8,646	9,284	5,142
April 22	29,329	10,158	12,130	6,527

So disquieting was the condition of Poplar that a special inquiry was ordered by the Ministry early in 1922. Mr H. I. Cooper, clerk to the Bolton Board, commenced his inquiry in March, and reported to the Ministry on May 10 of the same year. His conclusions are summarised at the end of his report as follows :

' The principles which influence the Guardians in the excessive expenditure referred to in this Report are as bad as,

if not worse than, those existing prior to the present Poor Law System.

'There is no justification for the expenditure in out-relief so much in excess of the scale prescribed by the M.C.P.F. (Out-door Relief) Regulations, 1922. . . .

'The lavish allowances of out-door relief encourage persons to apply who would not otherwise do so, and it is made altogether too easy for persons to obtain assistance from the Guardians. The Guardians' policy has a tendency to demoralise the recipients and is calculated to destroy incentive to thrift, self-reliance, and industry. . . .

'I consider that, on the present rate of expenditure, by careful administration, a saving of at least £100,000 per annum would result.'

Instances are given by Mr Cooper in his Report to substantiate his conclusion. A few typical examples may be quoted : In normal homes one imagines that 6*l.* a week earned by four single daughters living at home would provide for themselves and their parents. The Poplar Guardians say 'No,' and add 1*l.* 5*s.*, making a weekly income of 7*l.* 5*s.* in a State subsidised household. In another household, a son and daughter, living at home and earning together 5*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.*, are unable to maintain their parents while the father is unemployed. And the Guardians increase the family income to 6*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.* for the four adults. One is not surprised to find that a business firm employing labour, and paying rates in the borough, wrote to the Guardians on Jan. 30, 1922, as follows :

'DEAR SIRS,

'Our employees who live in Poplar have pointed out to us that they can get more money by being unemployed than working for us, and as we have no wish to prevent them from getting as much as possible, we propose to dismiss them so that they can take advantage of your relief.'

'(Signed) ————— & Co., Ltd.'

The District Auditor's Report, dated Oct. 25, 1922, dealing with the expenditure of the Poplar Guardians for the half year ending March 31, 1922, and circulated among the members of the Board for their observations, was much more severe upon the Board's practices. It will be noted that this Report covers the first half year in which

Poplar drew upon the Metropolitan Common Poor Fund. The Report begins :

'The total out-door relief distributed by the Guardians during the half year amounted to 229,690*l.* I am far from satisfied that the actual conditions prevailing in the district justify such an enormous expenditure. Examination of the case-papers during the audit disclosed the fact that, in numerous instances, relief has been granted without the slightest excuse. In others the relevant facts have been misconstrued and a fictitious set of circumstances set up with a view, presumably, to justifying an order for relief.'

A case (C.P. 33942) is quoted. A widow, twenty-eight, with child two years, applied for relief. It was reported that the applicant was acting as housekeeper for father-in-law and his son. No report of the men's earnings was given. On the Auditor's request inquiries elicited the fact that these men were earning 5*l.* a week in steady employment. The Guardians granted 21*s.* 6*d.* weekly to the woman,

'accepting a suggestion which was put forward that the men do their own housekeeping and that the woman merely occupied two rooms upstairs. The result is that two able-bodied men without dependants, earning between them at least 5*l.* per week, are provided with a housekeeper at the expense of the rates.

'A large percentage of the cases relieved are of single young men out of work. Many of these are members of households of which the weekly income is sufficiently large to preclude any question of destitution, but these young men are encouraged to apply for out-door relief, which seems to be granted in such cases as a matter of course.'

These are samples of the cases quoted : A single son with an army pension of 12*s.* weekly applied for relief. He was one of a household of five persons, four of them at work. The father worked for the Guardians at a wage of 4*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* The total income was 8*l.* 18*s.* 2*d.* Further assistance was given to the extent of 8*s.* weekly. The Auditor remarks : 'At my request the father attended the audit. He impressed me as an excellent type of man and stated that his son made application for relief without his approval, and that he had always been, and was still, willing to share what he had with his children.'

C.P. 14200. A boy of sixteen comes to live with his grandmother and her single son, aged twenty-seven. The income of the household is 4*l.* 7*s.* 1*d.* 'On the application of the grandmother, the Guardians dealt with the grandson as a separate applicant, unemployed, and granted 10*s.* weekly as out-door relief.' C.P. 41512 'makes it clear that the Guardians refuse to recognise the legal and moral obligation of a single son, earning 4*l.* 10*s.* weekly, to maintain his aged parents.'

'As regards the Relieving Officers,' the Auditor continues, 'it would seem that they are completely dominated by the Guardians and timorous of exercising any discretion vested in them otherwise than in favour of the applicant. . . . It is evident that the Relieving Officers no longer consider whether the case is one of sudden and urgent necessity, but apply the less stringent test as to whether the case is one in which the Guardians are likely to make an order.'

Relief is given in cases (such as C.P. 44752) where the Relieving Officer has noted that there is 'no destitution.' A great many 'appear to have been unlawfully granted.' The Report concludes :

'I am convinced that the lavish way in which relief is being distributed by the Guardians must have the effect of destroying any desire on the part of the recipients to obtain work, thereby casting on the rates the burden of supporting a number of individuals who are content to remain idle so long as it enables them to obtain a weekly allowance from the Guardians.'

In spite of this Report, issued a year after the extension of the Common Fund to include the cost of out-relief, the Ministry took no action. Poplar continued to draw upon the Fund year by year, in steadily increasing sums.

The inaction of the Ministry, at any rate during the Conservative Governments, may have been dictated by the policy of giving the Poplar Guardians sufficient rope to hang themselves. After rather more than five years, in the spring of 1928, a careful examination was made by H.M. Inspectors into the expenditure on out-relief in Poplar and the neighbouring unions. These Reports have been withheld from publication, possibly to give the Guardians time to carry out the reforms called for, and

to set their house in some semblance of order. The result of the Report, and of the efforts of the Inspectorate, has been a sudden and dramatic fall in the numbers of persons receiving out-relief; and especially of able-bodied men in the East of London.

Two instances from Poplar have appeared in the London press. They are sufficient to show the levity with which the Poplar Guardians dispense their relief. In the one case a young labourer, unmarried, who had been in receipt of relief since 1921, received during this period the following very ample wardrobe: 9 pairs of boots, 3 suits, 2 pairs of trousers, 6 undershirts, 6 shirts, 4 pairs of pants, 1 coat, 1 overcoat, 2 special white shirts. The white shirts were given because he said he wished to become a stage comedian, an appointment which did not materialise. This young general labourer has, however, the Cockney touch of the true comedian. In addition to the matter of the shirts, he asked for, and received, a pair of trousers to go to work for an employer named, but on inquiry it was found that the employer was unknown at the place mentioned. The next case shows the confiding and generous nature of the Poplar Guardians. A Dock labourer has been 'on relief' since May 1920, and long ceased to attend with those who strive at the Dock gates and toil inside. He has, or had, five children whose earnings have been as high as 6*l.* 10*s.* a week. Relief, notwithstanding, has been given him in addition. To assist in seeking the work he has never found he has been 'allowed' forty-six pairs of boots. In addition, there have been his rare wages, and his Unemployment Insurance; but his relief has been the one sure, unchanging element in his life.

But Poplarism, unhappily, is no longer confined to Poplar. And if for the moment it has the appearance of dying down at the centre it is raging at the circumference. As far back as Feb. 13, 1924, Lord Oxford, then Mr Asquith, said in the House of Commons: 'The terrible conditions which exist in Poplar exist also in the surrounding unions and boroughs, and in many parts of the country, and the Guardians in these equally necessitous areas have been subjected to every form of objurgation and obloquy because they have not followed the Poplar example.' If one applies the phrase 'terrible conditions'

to the Guardians' administration rather than to the poverty of the area, the description is a true one. The result is a paradox. Judging from the Poor Law figures in the East of London during the past few years one might describe it as a veritable Dead Sea of industry. Yet, according to a recent speech \* of the Prime Minister, employment in London is 'better than at any time in the last twenty years.' During these years men have been pouring into the London area, seeking and finding work, until, in Mr Baldwin's graphic expression, 'a Sheffield has been added to London.' Yet the fact remains that London to-day is the most pauperised city in England. This contrast between the industry on the one hand and the squalor and destitution in London on the other, has been occupying the attention of the Ministry of Health. The result may be seen in the very thorough investigations into the administration of the East End Boards of Guardians, in recent years. These Reports are confidential documents between the inspector and the Minister, and as such have not been published. Still, summaries of these Reports have been published in the press. And they have torn aside the veil and revealed to us the state of affairs in the East End.

In examining the out-relief of the Poplar Guardians it is necessary to watch the live register of the Poplar Exchanges. These figures show that while the numbers in relief have increased slightly between Jan. 1, 1925, and 1928, the numbers on the Employment Exchanges have decreased by 35 per cent. In July 1913 employment in the London and South-Eastern division was 'very good,' with unemployment percentage of 5·7. In July 1927 the percentage of unemployment had fallen to 4·3. For London alone it stood at 5·2. Yet Poplar had no less than 26,063 persons on out-door relief in July 1927 against 3252 in July 1913.

Bermondsey comes next to Poplar in the percentage of pauperism, having on Feb. 25 last one person in seven receiving relief. In 1913 the number on out-relief was 1849, as compared with 16,176 at the beginning of 1927.

\* On Feb. 13, 1928, the Prime Minister said: 'In London, during the last year, I am assured by officials and social workers that in their view employment is better and more regular than it has been any time in the last twenty years.'

Tables are given to show that in Bermondsey also the number of persons registering for employment has decreased since 1925, but out-door relief to the able-bodied has increased. It is suggested that unemployed workers in Bermondsey are unwilling to travel to work in other parts of London.

The state of casual labour in the riverside unions is a case in point. The problem of decasualising riverside labour is a long-standing one, which the administration of poor relief can largely help or hinder. 'The effect of the Bermondsey Guardians' administration,' says the Report, 'is to encourage and perpetuate a surplus of casual riverside labourers in their parish.' The practice here is to supplement relief up to the scale of wages which a man could earn if at work. The system works thus: 'If he does one day's work he receives 10s. 8d. net pay and 28s. 6d. relief, making a total of 39s. 2d. a week. If he does two days' work he receives 22s. 8d. wages and 16s. 6d. relief, making a total of 39s. 2d. a week.' The inspector remarks :

'It goes without saying, therefore, that so far as the amount of his weekly income goes, and within obvious limits, the casual worker in Bermondsey is as well off when he does not work as when he does. Equally a man who does no work gets the same income as a neighbour in similar circumstances who does work. A broader effect is that such a man has no inducement to leave an overcrowded occupation and an under-employed district in order to offer his labour where it is required. The Guardians' plan is in outline the very simple one of maintaining the surplus casual workers at the expense of the rates for as long as they choose to stay in the parish.' \*

A few illustrations of the bad effect of this method are given below : Case 1 : A waterside labourer, age thirty-two, with wife and three children, received intermittent relief from 1921 to 1924 ; then he was sent to prison for housebreaking, receiving relief at once on his release. Since April 1924 his income consisted of : out-relief, 327l. ; unemployment benefit, 57l. 19s. ; earnings, nil. Case 2 : A waterside labourer, age twenty-eight, with wife and three children, all born while he has been on out-relief.

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\* 'The Times,' May 14, 1928.

For the last six years he has had practically continuous relief at rates up to 44s. 6d. a week. In the last three years his income was : out-relief, 357l. ; earnings, 4s. 10d. Another serious drawback in the Guardians' administration is the high scale of relief. This amount leaves no incentive to a man to seek employment. The maximum scale in Bermondsey—and the maximum has become the general rule—is 51s. a week. The inspector's comment is as follows : ' This sum approximates so closely to the wages that can be earned by an independent labourer in the factories of the district that, allowing for the wear-and-tear of a workman's life compared with life on relief, there is no sufficient inducement for a man to seek to maintain himself.'

These observations bring before us a very disturbing fact. We have, in our midst, a large and increasing number of persons who have become so enervated and demoralised by lavish and unconditional relief that they have no longer the power or the will to cope with their more virile and independent neighbours in the labour market.\* These Reports make it abundantly clear that the present state of unemployment and poverty in London is not wholly responsible for the enormous sums spent on out-relief in London, and we must seek the cause elsewhere —viz. in the Guardians' administration and policy.

Examples of this policy are not far to seek. Young girls of nineteen who refuse well-paid work outside their own parish should certainly not be maintained at the public expense in idleness at home. And the Bermondsey labourer who recently offered to take work if it were sufficiently well paid and within the borough deserves little consideration. The following case provides a typical instance of the effects of ' Poplarism ' : A woman received intermittent relief from 1921 to 1926. She married in April of that year a man who had ceased work the previous day. They immediately applied for relief and received 29s. a week. This was increased to 31s. 9d. on the birth of a child ; and they have been a continuous charge ever since. Both the man and the woman had been disallowed Insurance Benefit before marriage.

\* The writer is informed that the London General Omnibus Company, during 1927, on one route, put on bigger buses and doubled the service to cope with the rush of workers going into Poplar every morning and returning from Poplar every evening.

The number of persons on out-relief who have been refused Unemployment Benefit on the ground that they are not genuinely seeking work is excessive. Investigation shows that many of these persons have refused or left their employment without good reason. And, in many cases, the probability of obtaining easy relief was undoubtedly the deciding factor which led them to refuse or to throw up their work. A Bermondsey man was dismissed and imprisoned for larceny in 1925. He has had practically continuous out-relief since, to the amount of 44s. 6d. a week. His previous job had brought him in 39s. a week, and he informed the Guardians that he was quite willing to accept work if it were offered him at 44s. 6d., asking with every show of reason : 'What can be fairer than that ?' An Inspector visited a labourer in Woolwich. The man, wife, and six children live in two rooms. He had been on relief since 1920, and except for Borough Council relief work he has aggregated only a few months' work in seven years. The wages in the district vary from 42s. 5d. to 46s. 5d. net a week. This man's relief was 50s. except for a short period when it was reduced to 40s. for drunkenness. He was described as 'physically a fine-looking man, and when asked why he did not maintain his family, he replied : "It is up to you people to find me a job."'

Instances of this kind might be multiplied indefinitely, and their effect upon the young men is shown in the following instances : A man began to receive relief at the age of twenty-three, in February 1921. At thirty he was still being 'relieved' by the Guardians. The Relieving Officer had noted on the case paper 'a lazy thriftless fellow.' It is difficult to imagine how he could be anything else ! Nevertheless, the Guardians continued full relief at 41s. a week. The only work he has done in four years has been hop-picking and four months of fruit-selling, when his earnings were subsidised by relief in kind. B., aged twenty-six, has received relief varying from 41s. to 44s. a week, since 1921. 'Except for hop-picking and relief work his only earnings have been from prize-fighting and acting as sparring partner.'

In order to examine coolly and dispassionately the terrible moral consequences upon 'the out-relief army there,' which has 'been built up slowly and diligently in

a prosperous area during thirty years,' it will be necessary to look at Poplar to-day through the eyes of a regular experienced social visitor, who has known Poplar intimately through many years. Before accompanying her on her rounds, let us take an incident which happened in one of the trams to illustrate the levity and indifference with which 'relief' is looked upon in Poplar to-day :

'Passenger : Stop at the Bank.

'Conductor : What Bank ?

'Passenger : Why, our Bank, of course—the Relief Office !'

Our visitor, in the course of the afternoon, in the spring of 1924, calls upon the wife of a ship's painter. She learns that he has had nineteen days' work between Jan. 1 and Feb. 26. 'He looks for work,' the wife added, with pride in her man. 'If he gets a couple of days or so, he sends me round to the Town Hall.' Here, at least, is a couple—honest, industrious, independent—who have not been corrupted by the pernicious system in vogue there ! Her opinion, and the opinion of those like-minded with her, upon her neighbours is all the more worthy of attention. 'There are lots of young, strong men round here, who have not been able to find a day's work in two years—so they say. What do you think of that ?' The fine scorn which this British working woman put into those words 'so they say' was worth going far to hear. Instances like this remind one of the encouragement given to Elijah : 'Yet I have left me seven thousand in Israel which have not bowed unto Baal.'

Another workman voiced the underlying antagonism which exists and is increasing in the East End between those who work and those who do not : 'There's a man lives near me who gets 3*l.* 8*s.* for himself and his family. He never thinks of getting up before 11 a.m. except on the day he draws his money. He can afford soles for his tea, and I've seen him have to hand over ten shillings on the Bowring Green.' A call in another street revealed a further hardship which is steadily increasing and demoralising the regular worker, and making him ask the question, Is it worth while to be honest in Poplar, or shall he throw up the sponge ? The man is in steady work in a chemical factory, with long hours. His wife's hours of work are still longer. Their combined efforts

produce exactly three shillings more than their neighbour gets by going to the Relief Office. That neighbour, it is hardly necessary to add, has been unemployed for years. There is a probability that both families will be increased this summer, but to the factory hand this will mean more expense, while the other will score, because the baby will bring its income with it. ‘This sort of thing does rouse scorn in the hearts of some of the workers.’ The scorn this time rings in the words of the lady visitor—it is none the less significant for that! On the way home she boarded a tram. ‘I asked a tram conductor if he lived in Poplar, and had the indignant answer: “Me? No, I don’t, and wouldn’t! This is where they will give you anything you like to ask, as long as you’ll do nothing. It beats me why any one works here!”’

Recently I was visiting Hollesley Bay Working Colony for London unemployed men. Discussing the men there, the Superintendent said :

‘I had one of the finest specimens of men I have ever seen —such a chest! Such muscles! Such arms and legs on him! He was an ideal worker! And what do you think? He came for his ticket to go back home! I said: “When did you come?” He said: “Yesterday.” “And you want to go back home to-day, and won’t even learn to work when there’s such openings for fine made chaps like you. How long have you been out of work?” “Five years.” “Five years,” I said. “You ought to be ashamed of yourself. Stop here and let me make a man of you. I can do so, I know.” “Why, that ain’t nothing, mister,” he laughed. “Why, my neighbour ain’t done no work for eight years!” Then I spoke out and told him what I thought of him. “You’re made for work, man. I can make you a splendid workman any master would be proud of.” He answered: “No man’s ever made me work. And the man ain’t born that will make me work.” And with that he walked off, back to London, still laughing, quite good tempered.’

I asked, ‘Where did he come from?’ He answered: ‘Poplar.’

‘Can London climb out of the Slough of Despond?’ is the question put by the secretary of the Charity Organisation Society.

‘177,000 persons were on outdoor relief in March 1927, compared with 37,000 in 1897, 43,000 in 1907, 30,000 in 1913, 23,000 in 1920. Of these 177,000 the Poplar Union accounts

for one-sixth, though its population is one-thirtieth of the whole. According to the latest census, 28,000 persons go into Poplar every morning to earn their living, and we note that 28,000 Poplar residents are on out-relief (15,263 on account of unemployment).

In comparing the above figures it is well to remember that since 1907

'the country has taken over many charges, the assistance of mothers and babies, of school children, of the tuberculous; and has put upon national taxation the support of old age, widowhood, and orphanage, sickness and unemployment . . . an enormous housing subsidy, public works (unemployed), and the support of a large section of the population under the head of War Pensions. All this expenditure is going on in Poplar, in addition to the expenditure of the Guardians on relief and the Borough Council on relief works.

'Nothing is more characteristic of the age,' he adds, 'than this simple fact that a subject like Poplar relief is argued daily, but not the least attempt made to get at the facts . . . equally there is no attempt to find out what the economic circumstances of Poplar are. Sir James Davy made a very trifling and superficial attempt to do it, and was held by all and sundry to be a cruel, undemocratic savage. No elected person would dream to-day of repeating such a tactless adventure. In the simple phrase of a leading politician the word has gone forth : " You have got to keep 'em." '

This is merely a brief attempt to describe that dark shadow of pauperism which has been creeping over London during the past years. Like some foul miasma it has been paralysing our industry, poisoning our municipal life, pauperising tens of thousands of decent workmen. There is no doubt but that the evil has been aggravated by the facilities with which this expenditure has been very largely met from the Metropolitan Common Poor Fund, an extension due, be it remembered, to the excessive expenditure of Poplar. These facilities have created an overwhelming inducement to spend in our poor areas. And as long as Poplar can transfer about half a million a year from the West End to Poplar, it will continue to do so. These accumulated masses of pauperism, as we have seen, are not wholly due to economic causes, but also to a determined policy. The truth is that, although London is slow to realise it, we are faced with a politically deliberate maladministration to serve its own sinister ends.

As early as Sept. 1, 1921, the 'Times' pointed out this danger in plain terms in a leading article :

'London ratepayers,' it said, 'have begun to reap the full harvest of the municipal elections of 1919. . . . A large number of the London Boards of Guardians are to-day controlled by Labour representatives. In their hands the gradual tendency to increasing extravagance in municipal administration, especially observable in recent years, has been accelerated to a breakneck pace, and rates have consequently soared to levels undreamt of before the war. Not only have many of these custodians of public money proved themselves indifferent and extravagant administrators—utopian architects, reckless of cost so long as they can build according to their fancy—but they have shown and are showing that their prodigality is the outcome of a definite policy of redistributing the national wealth. . . . Human nature remains much as it was. If men are paid as much for doing nothing as for hard and exacting work, all incentive to finding employment, and, in many cases, to continuing it, will be gone. . . . Mr Lansbury and his friends may not care so long as they get their way ; but it must be clearly understood that their way leads confessedly to the overthrow of the existing social and economic order.'

Coming from our leading journal, these are strong words ; and seldom has a prophecy been more exactly fulfilled. Whatever position we have allowed ourselves to drift into has not been for lack of warning.

Hitherto, strange as it may seem, the result of the working of the Common Fund has been to protect these unions from the result of their own actions. West Ham, Chester-le-Street, Bedwellty have become bankrupt and been superseded—to the enormous advantage of the residents in those unions. Poplar will never become bankrupt, whatever its expenditure, so long as it has the purse of London to draw upon. The only hope for the Metropolis in this respect lies in a strong, efficient control by the London County Council, and the determination of the Council to be master of its own house. For this reason alone Londoners may well welcome Mr Chamberlain's proposals for the reform of Poor Law Administration. It will redeem them from the curse of Poplarism.

H. J. MARSHALL.

## Art. 6.—THE POOR WHITES OF SOUTH AFRICA.

SOUTH AFRICA is the Land of the Poor Whites. It has been so for more than two centuries. It is so to-day. Despite Budget surpluses and expanding opportunities, there persists in it a tragic form of what may be termed hereditary indigency. In periods of prosperity and of depression alike, there is found in the sub-continent an entire class of Europeans living below the accepted standard of white civilisation. By ordinary tests South Africa is one of the well-to-do countries of the post-war period. Its skilled workers were declared by the Economic Commission of 1925 to be among the most highly paid in the world—‘only in Philadelphia, if these representative occupations can be taken as typical, is the general level of wage rates higher than in South Africa.’ Yet at the other end of the scale lies an entire class of people of European descent sinking below the economic level of the coloured man and the native.

The present Prime Minister, General Hertzog, in a speech at Bloemfontein in 1923—a year before he took office—accepted an estimate that the number of ‘poor whites’ in the Union was 140,000. The Rev. M. L. Fick, for many years a Predikant of the Dutch Reformed Church, declared in the House of Assembly in 1924 that ‘there were 160,000 poor whites, men, women, and children, who will not get on their feet again unless they are helped.’ Early in 1928, Mr C. W. Cousins, Secretary for Labour, mentioned an estimate that the poor white class numbered 150,000. Indeed, it was generally agreed within the last few years that every tenth European in the Union of South Africa fell within the category of ‘poor whites.’ This gives a higher proportion than in the Black Belt of the United States two generations ago, when the ‘mean whites’ were held to constitute a grave national problem. As evidence of the deplorable conditions prevailing in the United Kingdom towards the end of the Napoleonic Wars it was recorded that ‘in Edinburgh one in every eight of the population was maintained on charity.’ It is not improbable that one in every ten of the white population of South Africa lives to-day more or less on charity. The ‘rural unemployed’—to use a term which General Hertzog

prefers to 'poor whites'—and the rural under-employed exist almost on the verge of starvation, and the bulk of them have done so for many years. Most of them have lost the energy and the desire to help themselves. They are the victims of heredity and environment.

The evil is most acute in the rural areas of the Cape remote from the towns, but it also exists to a considerable extent in the Transvaal. A few years ago the Mayor of Stellenbosch stated that he was informed that 300 or 400 white people in the Jansenville district lived for eight months of the year almost exclusively on prickly pear, and went about half naked. An investigator in the Jansenville district in 1927 asserted that he found a white man employed as a herd on a farm, who had a wife and five children, and received as wages per month three buckets of meal and mealies, one goat, and 8s. in cash. The family was housed in a hovel, and was clad in rags. A white man met on trek declared that he had been paid on a farm three buckets of meal and mealies, two goats, and 15s. in cash per month, and had been sent away for asking for more. A witness before the Transvaal Indigency Commission of 1906-8 said of the poor whites of the Low Veld: 'Many of them do not even earn 1*l.* a month, and yet they live.' Of the descendants of the original pioneers of the Low Veld it was stated: 'We do not believe that anything can turn them into settled hard-working farmers.' In the 'Cape Times' in April 1928 a Riversdale (Cape) correspondent reported the discovery, in a remote valley in the district, of a colony of two or three hundred whites who lived chiefly on small holdings, did not earn 2*d.* a day, and resented the intrusion of strangers into their domain. In Namaqualand to-day the traveller comes across many families of poor whites who live in grass huts and move from place to place without any permanent home. A Bloemfontein magistrate transferred to Namaqualand declared in a letter printed in 'The Friend' in July 1928 that he found the majority of the people 'about 300 years behind the times.'

All over South Africa are families of rural indigents crowded into wretched hovels and shacks under conditions which make comfort, decency, and morality almost impossible. Many of these people are 'byowners' who farm on shares with the landowner. Others are farm

foremen or farm hands. Some are small proprietors who really could not explain how they exist on the tiny holdings left them by the constant subdividing of the original farm. Their lives are a long tragedy of hopelessness and wretchedness. They are uneducated, untrained, and have no habits of industry. The bulk of them have little except that pride of race which even now induces them to look with contempt upon manual labour as 'Kafir's work.' The standard of living of most of them is lower than that of the urban Cape coloured people. On the outskirts of locations and in the native territories there is a tendency for them to descend to the native level and become 'Kafirised' whites.

The tragedy of the poor whites in South Africa has been caused mainly by the presence of a coloured population, and partly by the conditions under which the Europeans spread over the sub-continent in the first half of the nineteenth century. Even in the earliest days of European occupation the idea of making the white men the workers of the new colony was abandoned. Six years after Van Riebeek began to make his garden on the shores of Table Bay in 1652, several hundred slaves were imported from the West Coast of Africa. But the decision that influenced South Africa's colour future more than any other was taken in 1717. The Directors of the Company in Holland had written to the Cape asking whether it would be possible to base the settlement on white instead of slave labour. In reply the Councillors at the Cape, with a solitary exception, condemned white settlers as lazy, incompetent, intractable, and liable to drunkenness. Only the Captain of the Garrison, Dominique de Chavonnes, brother of the Governor, defended white labour. He declared that the colony could absorb 150 white artisans, and argued that pressure of white population would force men to seek new means of subsistence, and thus the very lack of slaves would breed habits of industry among the whites.

The late John X. Merriman put the same idea before the Cape Labour Commission of 1893-94. Asked if he had any policy to suggest he replied: 'If I were autocratic I should employ a large number of the cheapest white labour which could be obtained, and if you imported enough they would be bound to work. They could not get away.' But the Council of 1717 was not to be convinced. The decision went in favour of slaves instead of whites. Had it

been different, as Prof. Eric Walker remarks in his new history of South Africa, 'the western colony at least might have become a genuine white man's country, for the climate was Mediterranean.' At that period the native coloured population was very small, for the Bantu hordes had not worked their way down from the North. By relying upon slave labour, the Council helped to strengthen white prejudice against unskilled work, and so built up the class of 'mean whites' which similar conditions produced in the United States and the West Indies. The evil was visible as early as 1719. In that year the Burgher Councillors submitted to the Council of Policy an appeal that 'a kind of licensed sea trade may be granted to the people so that the Poor Whites born here may find something to do, and to be able to learn such trades as are connected with shipping matters and are not carried out here.' About the same time the Heemraeden of Stellenbosch complained that European children were growing up without any work being available for them.

Though poor white-ism was visible in South Africa early in the eighteenth century, for over a hundred years it was not a pressing evil. In front of the little settlement nestling round the Castle at the Cape there stretched the vast unoccupied spaces which are now the Union of South Africa and Rhodesia. Land was to be had for the taking. Game provided ample food. Into this great hinterland the surplus white population spread. Further and further into the interior moved the Voortrekkers with their flocks and herds and coloured servants. There was bred in them that wanderlust which even in recent times has produced strange migrations to the wilds of the Argentine, and Angola, and other lands offering ample space. There was strengthened, too, that pride of race that scorned all manual labour as 'Kafir's work.' Isolation and lack of education bred a conservative and obstinate race of pastoralists and hunters ill-equipped to meet modern conditions. But the world from which the trek-farmers strove to escape finally overtook and surrounded them. Gradually the country filled up. The Boers, unable to acquire more land for nothing, began to divide up their farms among their children, until scores of families squatted upon holdings which gave little more than semi-starvation to those who merely scratched the soil. The

prejudice against manual labour continued. So far back as 1781 Van Plettenberg, reporting to the Directors of the Dutch East India Company on the complaints of the burghers at the Cape, had declared that the colonists desired to lead an indolent life merely directing the labour of Hottentots and slaves. That spirit was carried into the next century.

By the middle of the nineteenth century there had been formed all over South Africa a poor white class closely resembling that which F. L. Olmsted described in his travels in the Southern States of America about the same period. The moral effect of servile coloured labour was the same. 'Manual agricultural labour is the chief employment of slaves in the South,' wrote Olmsted. 'For manual agricultural labour, therefore, the free man looking on has a contempt.' Anthony Trollope in his travels in South Africa in the 'seventies of last century was struck by the refusal of white labourers to work alongside coloured men even if offered high wages. 'The truth, I take it, is,' he wrote, 'that a white working population will not settle itself at any place where it will have to measure itself against coloured labour.'

Yet when the discovery of diamonds at Kimberley ended a long period of depression in the Cape, there was a strong demand for labour. The Cape House of Assembly in 1874 unanimously passed a resolution recognising the expediency of importing labour and asking that inquiries be made regarding the possibility of obtaining Indians and Chinese. Two years later a resolution was carried requesting that 1000 Chinese coolies be imported. As late as 1893-94 the Cape Labour Commission reported that in western districts alone, several thousand workers could be absorbed. It made inquiries all along the East and West Coasts of Africa concerning the prospect of being able to import labour, and while opposed to the introduction of Indians, suggested that an attempt be made to get Kroomen from Sierra Leone. The Commission declared that the influence of clergymen, and individuals, and magistrates should be sought to induce 'poor whites' to seek work; but it also recorded the fact that the farmers wanted the cheapest possible coloured labour used to a low standard of living. The bulk of the evidence taken by this Commission condemned the poor whites in the country as lazy

and apathetic. The Cape Conservator of Forests declared that Italians who arrived in rags had done better than the poor whites in Knysna, and had become small farmers. Another witness asserted that Germans (doing all the work themselves) could live well on soil upon which an Afrikander would starve.

It was in the early 'nineties of last century that South Africa really awoke to the fact that there had grown up a large and permanent class of poor whites. Spasmodic attempts were made to solve the problem. In the Transvaal the gold discoveries on the Rand filled the Republican coffers, and Kruger tried a system of doles which in the long run only made his poor whites more unemployable than ever. Small holdings were set aside for impoverished burghers, but as the men lacked training, ambition, and energy, most of them merely squatted on the ground while doles could be drawn, and finally drifted into the slums of the towns. The great rinderpest outbreak of 1896 further depressed the rural population. The very development of the country increased the poor white class. The extension of the railways drove out of business a large number of men who had lived by transport riding. The accumulated evil of generations was increased fivefold by the devastation of the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902.

When the work of post-war reconstruction began it was seen that thousands of farmers had sunk into the ranks of the poor whites. South Africa found itself faced by something more than a problem of poverty. The very position of the white race in the sub-continent was threatened. The Select Committee on European Employment and Labour Conditions in 1913, surveying the whole field, declared that if a considerable number of whites were allowed to fall into apathetic indigence and to drop below the level of non-Europeans, 'sooner or later, notwithstanding all our material and intellectual advantages, our race is bound to perish in South Africa.' And these dangerous conditions did undoubtedly exist among a very large section of the European population. The disease had produced not merely poor people, but a whole class of poor people. Poverty in the rural areas had become, as the Transvaal Indigency Commission of 1906-8 reported, mainly a 'family' trouble. 'The cause of indigency,' it declared, 'is not in the country but in the character and habits of

the population.' An entire section of the whites was sinking below the level of the Kafirs.

From 1903 onwards half a dozen Government Commissions and Parliamentary Select Committees in the four colonies, or in the Union, investigated the problem of poor white-ism, and while their recommendations sometimes differed they all agreed that the national danger was serious. The most authoritative and exhaustive report was that of the Transvaal Indigency Commission of 1906-8, the members of which toured all South Africa and took much evidence from poor whites in their homes. 'The real causes of indigency,' it reported, 'often have no apparent connection with the actual indigents themselves.' It found that the main causes of the deterioration of so large a section of the white race were backwardness and ignorance due largely to historical reasons, aversion to manual labour bred by the presence of a coloured working class, and idleness encouraged by the mildness of the climate. These basic influences had been emphasised by bad land laws and the dole system. Broadly it found: 'The poor whites are distinguished from the poorer classes in other countries not by the character of their poverty, but by the fact that it is due to the presence of a coloured labouring population.' Other investigations differed upon details from the Transvaal Indigency Commission, but its report stands as the most comprehensive study of the evil ever made in the sub-continent. It was generally agreed that little could be done for the older poor whites who had become so habituated to their mode of life as to be unable to alter it. Salvation must be sought for mainly by aiding the younger people and educating the children in the hope that the growing up of yet another generation of poor whites might be prevented. No doubt many useful recommendations made by the investigating bodies still lie in dusty pigeon-holes in Government offices, but there has been a fairly persistent effort to cure the evil.

The Inter-Colonial Council passed a resolution in July 1903: 'That as far as possible, and with due regard to the financial obligations and requirements of these colonies, the railway lines be built by means of white labour.' But the old paradox was still visible. While whites remained without work, the country cried aloud for more labour; and as the demand of the Natal tea and sugar estates was

met by the importation of Indians, so the needs of the gold mines of the Rand were met by bringing in Chinese coolies, and later by indenturing large numbers of natives from Portuguese East Africa. The Botha Government in the Transvaal definitely inaugurated in 1906 a policy of employing unskilled whites on the railways, and under pressure of popular agitation a number of provincial and local bodies made experiments in the same direction, but the evil increased steadily. The Rev. A. D. Luckoff, who had been interested in the railway scheme to employ more Europeans, wrote in April 1913 : 'That there is a great number of poor whites throughout the land is certainly a serious matter ; but what is more serious still is that there is a greater number of people in the country who are fast qualifying to become poor whites.' Responsible Government officials estimated that in 1916-17 there were in the Union 39,021 whites living in 'absolute poverty' and 67,497 in something a little less than absolute poverty, giving a total of 106,518 'poor whites,' or 8 per cent. of the then white population. This condition obtained although the activities of the Great War had absorbed many men in the depressed class.

Since 1924, when the Hertzog, or Pact, Government came into power, partly on a pledge to solve the unemployment problem, there has been a speeding up of ameliorative effort. The Government applied a 'civilised labour' policy on the State Railways, taking on large numbers of unskilled whites in the place of natives and coloured men, and paying them 5s. 6d. a day plus certain privileges. Between July 1924 and May 1928 over 32,000 'civilised labourers' were started on the railways, and 8945 of them were subsequently promoted to graded positions. These men included many 'poor whites,' but they were not drawn exclusively from that class. For a good many years the Governments and the Churches have promoted land settlement schemes for the purpose of re-establishing on the soil poor whites who had drifted into the towns, or were in danger of so drifting. A few public-spirited landowners have aided the movement by working their estates largely with white labour, generally on the shares system, which as a rule is preferred by the rural whites. On several big farms in the Transvaal there are thirty or forty white families settled under this system. These examples have

not, however, been widely followed. Most farmers complain that the poor white requires as much supervision as a native and does not work properly unless some one stands over him all the time. It is probably true, however, that backward farmers accustomed to using the roughest and cheapest black labour do not know how to employ white labour effectively. One of the handicaps to progressive scientific farming in South Africa is the cheap coloured labour, which is accustomed only to primitive methods.

The most famous church scheme for uplifting the poor whites is the Kakamas Labour Colony in the far north-west corner of the Cape Province. It is based upon two big irrigation canals, one on each side of the Orange River, and the colony stretches for twenty miles along the banks and ends only a few miles above the King George Cataracts. Kakamas is over twenty-five years old now and contains a total population of 3300, of whom several hundred are coloured servants. Each plot-holder has about twelve acres of irrigated land with grazing rights running far back from the river. Kakamas is strictly managed by the Dutch Reformed Church, which started it when railhead was 270 miles away. No alcoholic liquor is allowed, and dancing, and card playing, and bad language are also prohibited. I spent a day or two at Kakamas two years ago and was favourably impressed by the settlement, which boasts of an electrically-driven mill, three churches, four stores, and eight schools. Some of the plot-holders are now prosperous small farmers with well-built houses and hundreds of pounds in the bank. Others, however, are still living from hand to mouth and are permanently in debt to the stores, which are run by the Labour Commission managing the Colony. But Kakamas has been full since 1911, and as the only way to get into it is to buy the rights of a settler who is leaving, it may cost anything up to 1000*l.* to become a 'poor white' there. Moreover, after an expenditure of 150,000*l.* there are only 429 actual plot-holders there—though another 80 white families squat on the open ground—so its influence upon the solution of the problem is not large. The officials at Kakamas class 60 per cent. of the settlers as 'good' and only 6 per cent. as 'failures,' the balance being 'fair.'

At first it was feared that Kakamas would only be a breeding ground for more poor whites, but this has not

proved to be the case. The children as a rule go out into the Union as teachers, railwaymen, policemen, and so on. Freehold is not granted to settlers, but the lessee is allowed to nominate his successor. The weak spot in the scheme is that it has been found impossible to carry out the original design of training poor whites in habits of industry and then passing them out of the settlement and training more. After spending years of hard work in converting rough virgin ground into a small irrigated holding, the occupier naturally will not move on to begin the task all over again elsewhere, merely in order to allow a fresh family to reap the reward of his labours. If he achieves any success at all he stays on, and becomes a permanent settler, and hopes that his children will succeed to his plot. A similar scheme at Lager's Drift in the Transvaal has been less successful, for there is no irrigation, and the railway is still far distant.

A number of smaller church and private settlements have had a chequered history, and the percentage of failures on them has been considerable. Save under strict discipline the poor white in South Africa is not readily roused out of his lethargy and hopelessness. In the past it has been found that church influence gave the best results, and it is too early yet to say definitely that the purely State land settlement experiments will be a lasting success. The Government is now supplementing private activity with considerable vigour. In addition to its policy of increasing the employment of whites on the railways, it is placing many families back on the land. Men selected from the gangs employed on railway construction, forestry, road making, and irrigation works, are drafted to an agricultural training farm and then helped to set up as small farmers. In the Crocodile River Valley, below the great Haartebeestpoort dam, some thirty-five miles north of Pretoria, one sees examples of several kinds of State activity directed to curing the evil of poor whiteism. There one finds the Losperfontein training farm; two poor white townships built on the bare veld; State holdings for trainees; land leased to tenant farmers under Government auspices; 180 'ready-made' 20-acre wheat and tobacco farms complete with four- or five-roomed brick residence, leased by the Lands Department; and the camps of the unskilled day labourers from whose ranks

settlers are drawn, and so on. A valley 30 miles long by 20 miles wide, which not many years ago was given up to game and a few isolated farmers, is now a hive of activity and presents the appearance of a well-cultivated countryside. The transformation has been brought about in the effort to uplift poor white families and raise them to the ranks of self-supporting citizens. In the forest reserves, and other settlements scattered over the Union, there will be found many other families of poor whites being assisted to reach a better economic level, while the children receive a proper education. It is costly work, for though the expenditure is largely charged up to the men settled on the soil, there is no guarantee that a good deal of it will not ultimately have to be written off. Naturally, too, the number of poor whites who can be thus dealt with is limited. The man who succeeds clings to the holding he has improved, and the idea of passing a large number of 'rural unemployed' through the settlements cannot in practice be realised.

Even under the most helpful conditions, too, some of the poor whites seem to be hopeless. The contrast between the best and the worst shacks in the camps in the Crocodile River Valley is remarkable. In one little wood and iron dwelling I found the primitively furnished rooms scrupulously neat, a clean white cloth on the table with a few fresh flowers on it—in fact, a dwelling which, though rough, could have been occupied by a fastidious person without complaint. In another, inhabited by a family drawing exactly the same pay, there was the wretchedness, dirt, and discomfort of the worst native hovel. It is families of the latter type (which always seem to have the highest birth-rate) that make the solving of the problem so difficult. 'Many indigent persons,' reported the Transvaal Indigency Commission, 'prefer to live at the lowest level of subsistence rather than do any regular work.' The late John X. Merriman, who had studied the evil in the Cape for many years, held the same opinion. 'Why are the poor whites starving?' interjected a member while Mr Merriman was making a famous speech in Parliament in 1915. 'Why?' Mr. Merriman almost hissed, 'Why?'—and then, banging down his notes on the desk before him—'Because they won't work.'

This dislike of manual labour is a survival of the old

days when the white man was always a landowner and supervisor of the labours of others. Some of the present-day trouble is undoubtedly due to the isolation caused by a small population scattered over an immense country. This isolation led in the past to inter-marrying on a scale not usually found in Europe, and the evil effects are visible to-day. In a lecture in Capetown in June 1923, Dr R. A. Forster, of the Alexandra Hospital, mentioned his experiences during a motor journey in which he became lost in the 'back blocks of the Cape,' where he found white people 'many of whom were still living an almost vegetable existence.' He described 'little badly built houses on small lonely holdings, the occupiers evidently, from their appearance, mental abnormals, quite unable to direct one on the road, and in fact in some cases evidently without knowledge of their own whereabouts.' Investigations by the Education Department in the Transvaal revealed in 1921 a percentage of retarded children in the schools more than three times that found in the schools of the United States. Dr Dunstan, the Commissioner of Mentally Disordered and Defective Persons in the Union, has declared : 'The psychological side of the poor white problem demands quite as much attention and investigation as any other. . . . The primary cause of poverty is, I am convinced, the inherent incapacity, as a result of feeble-mindedness, to compete on equal terms with normal individuals.'

Education will do more than anything else to cure the evil of poor white-ism, but the process is necessarily a long one. So much is involved. 'The real cure,' concluded the Transvaal Indigency Commission, 'lies in changing the habits and ideas of the people regarding manual labour.' That being so, no Morrison's Pill can be found to remove the disease rapidly. Time and sad experience may convince a later generation of poor whites that salvation can be found only in steady and persistent work, even though it be in competition with a coloured race. Unless the poor whites will compete with the natives in unskilled or semi-skilled work on an economic basis, the poor white class must remain in a hopeless position. It is a hard saying, and an unpopular one in South Africa, yet it stands out as the truth. Only sustained work can transform the Land of the Poor Whites.

L. E. NEAME.

( ✓ )

**Art. 7.—ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL RE-  
SEARCH IN AND NEAR ROME, 1908-1928.**

**PART II.**

THE excavations at Ostia have made great progress, and the main street can now be followed from the tombs outside the Porta Romana straight down through the city for a distance of about half a mile.

It has further been ascertained that it preserves the line of the *decumanus* of the original *castrum* or rectangular fort, which measured only about 210 by 137 yards, and which formed the nucleus of Ostia as we know it. Its walls, of rectangular blocks of tufa from quarries in the region of Fidenæ, very full of cinders, are still in some measure preserved; and Calza has put forward a very attractive conjecture to the effect that Virgil had these very walls in mind when he wrote his description of Æneas' first settlement, a *castrum* or camp at the mouth of the Tiber.

Despite their archaic appearance, they are, as a fact, not earlier in date than the fourth century B.C., the date to which belong the earliest traces of occupation that have been found on the site of Ostia. This fact is, of course, entirely at variance with the tradition handed down by classical authors, which made Ostia the oldest of Roman colonies—founded, so it was said, during the period of the Kings, in the seventh century before Christ. Carcopino, in his attempt to reconcile these divergencies, has propounded the theory \* that Æneas' camp was a permanent camp, that it is to be identified with the new city of Troy, which he founded (in which, it must be admitted, he has a passage of Servius † in his favour), and that this most ancient city of Ostia, together with the temple of Vulcan (which he makes out to be one of the great federal sanctuaries of Latium—on, I think, somewhat insufficient evidence), was obliterated by the great flood of 1557, so that it is useless to search further for any traces of either. But this supposition, though attractive, rests, I think, on somewhat dangerous ground.

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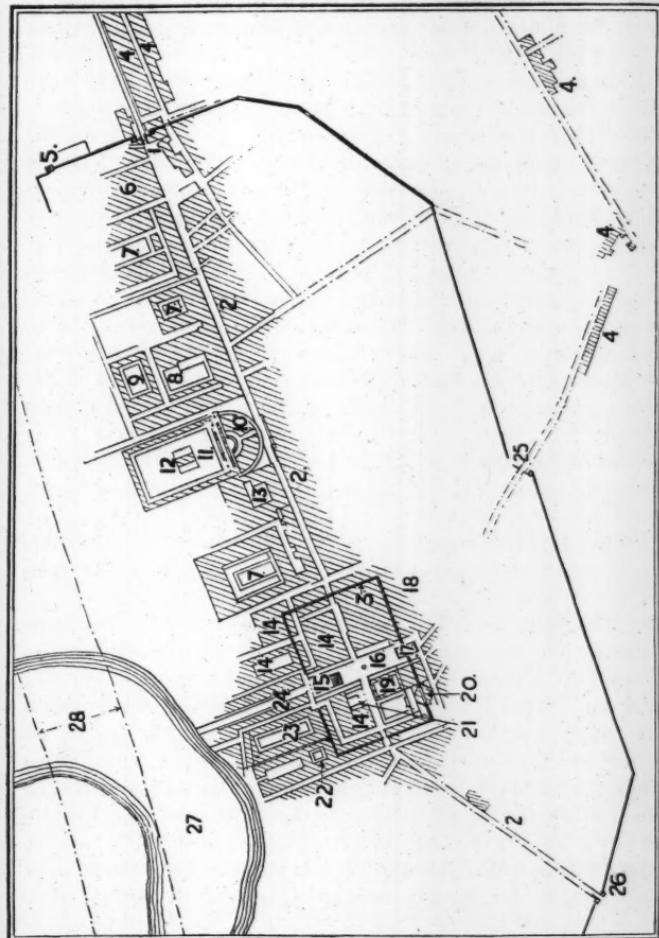
\* 'Virgile et les Origines d'Ostie,' Paris, 1919.

+ 'Ad Æn.,' x, 378, 'Troiam id est castra Troianorum.'

Besides the remains of this primitive enceinte, the course of the city wall of the beginning of the first century before Christ has also been followed. At the north-east corner, close to the river, there was a massive tower ; but no others have so far been found except at the gates, of which there were at least three, besides a number of openings which were pierced in imperial times, when the walls were not required for defence, and, like the ' Servian ' walls of Rome, were perhaps rather a nuisance than otherwise. In those days, if there had ever been walls along the river, they were certainly suppressed to facilitate the construction of quays, so that the trade of the city, which became enormous, could attain its maximum development. For Ostia was the centre of the food supply of the capital, under the direction of the *praefectus annonae*, and its importance in relation to that of its rival Puteoli increased rapidly after the construction of the Claudian harbour on the right bank of the Tiber, and its enlargement and improvement by Trajan. Until this time, as Strabo tells us, Puteoli was the chief port of Rome, being well provided with harbour works, which were easily constructed owing to the excellent qualities of the *pozzolana* earth. Owing to its safety it was preferred by many travellers ; whereas Ostia was, in reality, ' a city without a harbour owing to the silting brought about by the Tiber . . . : the ships anchor at considerable risk in the roads, but the love of gain prevails ; for there is a large number of lighters to receive and reload their cargoes, so that they do not have to wait very long before they can enter the river ; and thus having lightened a part of their cargoes they sail in and go up to Rome.'

The excavations have so far laid bare the buildings on the right-hand (north) side of the *decumanus*, which were rebuilt and laid out on a rectangular plan in the time of Hadrian—first a number of storehouses (*horrea*), then the thermae, with some very spirited sea-scenes in their great mosaic floors, and behind them the barracks of the *vigiles*, who, as police and firemen, had very great importance at Ostia. Then we come to the theatre, which dates in origin from the time of Augustus, but was reconstructed by Septimus Severus. It has recently been somewhat drastically restored so as to fit it for use for the performance of classical plays. Certainly, however, the

1. Porta Romana.
2. Decumanus.
3. Walls of original *castrum*.
4. Tombs.
5. Tower of city wall.
6. Republican storehouses (*horrea*) and later baths.
7. Storehouses (*horrea*).
8. Thermae.
9. Barracks of the *vigiles*.
10. Theatre.
11. 'Piazzale delle Corporazioni.'
12. Temple of Ceres.
13. Four small temples and Mithreum.
14. Private houses.
15. Capitolium.
16. Forum.
17. Temple of Rome and Augustus.
18. Thermae (under excavation).
19. Basilica.
20. Round temple (?)
21. Curia.
22. Storehouse of Epagathus and Epaphroditus.
23. So-called small market (really *horrea*).
24. Cardo.
25. Porta Laurentina.
26. Porta Marina.
27. Present course of Tiber.
28. Course of Tiber previous to the flood of 1557.



**PLAN OF OSTIA.**

The plan has been adapted from that by Gismondi in Calza's 'Ostia,' by Mr. George Cheekley, Demonstrator in the School of Architecture of the University of Cambridge, to whom I am greatly obliged.

background is a fine one. From the topmost seats one looks over the stage on to what has been called the Piazzale delle Corporazioni—a rectangular space with a temple of Ceres in the centre, surrounded by colonnades, which give on to small rooms, containing the offices of the various trade guilds by which the business of the port was conducted. Most of them belong to North Africa and Sardinia, though Alexandria, Narbonne, and perhaps Arles, are also represented. Immediately on the west is an area with miscellaneous sacred buildings, including a group of four small temples with a common podium and an interesting Mithraeum. No less than seven Mithraea have already been found at Ostia, and the cult was evidently extremely popular. After another large group of storehouses (probably for grain, inasmuch as we find the same arrangements for ventilation under the floor as may be noticed in the horrea at Corbridge), we come to an interesting group of private houses, which are remarkable for their complete divergence from the traditional type of the Roman house, which had been derived mainly from the study of the Pompeian house—though even that, as recent research has shown us, has been completely misunderstood; for as the newer excavations have shown us, at Pompeii, the façades were richly decorated with paintings below, while the walls of the upper storeys were not blank and monotonous, but were diversified with balconies, colonnades, and windows. But at Ostia space was valuable, as it was in the city of Rome itself, and there was no room for the atrium. Light was obtained from numerous windows opening on to the street or on to a garden; there were often three or four floors one above the other, each identical in plan, and sometimes subdivided into flats with independent staircases; there were external balconies, and sometimes internal courtyards. It is in such houses as these that we must seek the *insula*, or tenement house, of ancient Rome; and Calza has been able to make a calculation in regard to the population of ancient Rome in the time of Constantine, when there were 1790 *domus*, or large houses, belonging to wealthy citizens, and 44,300 *insulae*. Allowing 40 inhabitants per house, he arrives at a population of, roughly, 1,800,000; while, as regards the area, he shows that we may reasonably calculate that the houses occupied covered about five-

sevenths of the total area included within the Aurelian walls.

Beyond this group of houses is the most prominent ruin of Ostia, a temple on a lofty flight of steps, the cella of which remained standing high above the sandhills before the excavations began. It was generally known as the temple of Vulcan, but there is no doubt that it is the Capitolium, the temple of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, as restored in Imperial times. It does not appear to have been noticed, however, that the brick facing of the base is entirely different, both in structure and colour, from that of the superstructure ; and one might well suppose that the former was part of Hadrian's reconstruction, and the latter the work of Septimus Severus. As is only fitting, this imposing building occupies a central position in the city ; it is almost, though not quite, in the middle of the north half of the old *castrum*, and it faces on to the Forum, a long and comparatively narrow area, at the other end of which the foundations of a temple of Rome and Augustus have recently been brought to light, together with fragments of its architectural decoration, and two of the statues, a winged Victory and a Roma Victrix, with which it was adorned. On each side of the Forum were colonnades : those on the east gave on to a series of buildings which are still in process of excavation—among them a very fine and large set of baths, with, it seems, considerable divergences from the normal plan. It has been possible here to re-erect a number of the fallen columns in their places, and the effect is most imposing, and gives life to the whole building.

On the other side of the Forum are the scanty remains of the Basilica, which seems to have suffered more than any other building of Ostia from the devastation caused by mediaeval marble hunters, who came here to quarry marble for such buildings as the cathedral of Orvieto and some of the Pisan churches in Sardinia. The building next to it, a courtyard leading up to a large circular temple (?) of unknown attribution and late date (for it is built over the remains of earlier private houses), has suffered in a similar way.

On the further side of the *decumanus*, on the other hand, is one of the best preserved buildings that Ostia has to show—a large private storehouse belonging to two

Greeks, Epagathus and Epaphroditus. Passing through the ancient doorway, with its columns and pediment of fine brickwork, we enter a square courtyard surrounded by two storeys of arcades. The rooms of the lower floor still have their ancient vaulting intact, and judicious restoration under the skilful direction of Gismondi has supplied what was lacking.

Practically no more excavation has been done between this point and the ancient shore line, marked by a line of sandhills : and of the five regions into which ancient Ostia was divided, only two have been partially, though not entirely, excavated. But, after Pompeii, Ostia is the city that gives us the best idea, in Western Europe, at any rate, of the life of the ancient world ; and for the solidity and massiveness of its buildings it is certainly the more imposing of the two ; while, if its mural paintings are—and there is no denying the fact—somewhat inferior productions, the beauty of the mellow red brickwork, which, as we have recently learnt, was left exposed to view, the arches being picked out in a brighter red, is, especially when the sun is low, a thing to be remembered ; and at such times the splendid Renaissance castle built by Baccio Pontelli for Giuliano della Rovere (who afterwards became Pope Julius II), in 1483, built of ancient materials, takes on a similar tone.

Another portion of the coastal region of Latium has also been the object of special study during the last few years ; for it is with Tarracina and the promontory of Circeii that the new archaeological survey of Italy has begun ; and it may be said at once that a more attractive region, both for its natural beauties and its historical associations, could hardly have been selected. The first volume, dealing with the city of Tarracina (the Volscian Anxur, the modern Terracina) and its immediate neighbourhood, shows a wealth of archaeological remains, studied entirely without the aid of excavation, which is astounding even in Italy ; and as many of them were either imperfectly known hitherto, or not known at all, we may almost reckon that we have here a series of new discoveries. There was, first of all, the old Volscian fortress, guarding a pass which has well been described as the Thermopylæ of southern Italy, with considerable remains of the 'Cyclopean' walls of its defences. The

Romans took their high-road, the Via Appia, through the old town, preferring to secure the heights above it, which, in the hands of an enemy, would have presented a very great danger, rather than to adopt the easy and level route which the road has taken ever since Trajan cut away the cliff at the end of the promontory, and so allowed it to pass close to the shore.

After this the city began to spread over the low ground towards the harbour ; but the old site was so strong that it was once more refortified, perhaps in the fourth century after Christ.

The modern town is full of ancient buildings—the cathedral, itself built into a Roman temple, still faces on to the ancient Forum, now the principal piazza—and the fertile neighbourhood shows abundant traces of having been thickly populated. The remains of the Via Appia are of very considerable interest, and the view of the coast from the highest point of the old upper road, though little known, is one of the finest in Italy. One of the comparatively few travellers who explored it thoroughly was Sir Richard Colt Hoare, of Stourhead, who not only described what he saw in his ‘Classical Tour,’ but employed the artist, Carlo Labruzzi, to make drawings of all the principal remains of antiquity which were to be seen along the whole course of the Via Appia from Rome to Benevento. He describes this spot, known as the Piazza dei Paladini (who the Paladins were is another question), as follows :

‘ Its situation is beautiful in the greatest degree, commanding, on one side, a view of the sea-coast towards Terracina ; and on the other, the lake and plains near Fondi, the coast of Sperlonga and Gaeta, which are varied on the land side by a long extended range of beautiful mountains, forming the boundary of a rich and well-cultivated plain.’

The promontory of Circeo had been fairly recently explored by the present writer,\* but much remained yet to be done, and that preliminary reconnaissance has now been superseded by the careful survey which Lugli, with Gismondi’s capable assistance, has undertaken. This beautiful promontory is, as a fact, only known even now

\* ‘ Monte Circeo ’ in ‘ Mélanges de l’École Française de Rome,’ xxv (1905), 157–209.

to the favoured few, and it will no doubt be a surprise to most archaeologists to learn how much of interest is to be seen on its scrub-covered slopes, fragrant with myrtle and other shrubs that love the sea air.

It is, of course, a familiar object in the landscape as seen from the Alban Hills, with its long outline, not unlike that of Soracte, looking exactly as though it were an island. This, indeed, it must have once been, though in days comparatively remote, and it has so often been mistaken for one, that the fact that it has been joined to the mainland by a comparatively low stretch of ground ever since the tertiary period need not prevent us from accepting the identification of it with Circe's isle as described by Homer. Nor, I think, need we ask for too precise a correspondence with the actual topography of the locality at the present day, and reject the identification because the details of his description do not altogether agree with what we see.

The Romans, wiser than their successors, had made it into a place of resort, and there are the remains of several fine villas upon it; while the mediæval castle and the dirty modern village, which is its successor, occupy the site of the Roman colony, which, of course, may mark the place of an even earlier settlement, of which, however, we at present know nothing. Somewhat scanty remains of its defences are to be seen under the mediæval walls; but from them a long wall runs up the steep mountain side to the acropolis, which provides us with a very remarkable specimen of Roman fortification. The area enclosed is roughly rectangular, and measures some 250 by 140 yards—not a particularly large area, but sufficient for the purpose of refuge and defence.

Despite what has been said to the contrary by many writers, it is improbable that such enceintes as this, built of massive polygonal masonry of well-hewn limestone blocks quarried on the spot, are to be assigned to a remote antiquity—as was believed a century ago, when Gell and Dodwell, and other English antiquaries, devoted especial attention to them—and they are probably all of them attributable to the Roman period. The roughness of the inner face of the wall in this particular instance is belied by the careful construction of the exterior.

During the Republic it was still the promontory itself

which was chiefly favoured by wealthy Romans as a place of residence, and the name ' promontory of Venus ' which is found applied to it in an inscription of the end of that period is probably due to its beauty, which led to the erection of a temple (of Venus or of Circe) on the summit. But even then the low ground on the flat eastern shores of the lake to the north of the promontory, which is now known as the Lago di Paola, was also favoured ; and Domitian preferred this site for the great villa which he constructed at Circeii. Here is a large group of buildings, some of them dating from the end of the Republic, which, if they were to be properly studied, would require to be cleared of the vegetation which now covers them. In common with others, I had believed them to belong to the city of Circeii of the Imperial period ; but I fully recognise that Lugli is right in identifying them with the villa of Domitian, which is mentioned twice by Martial—once in the list he gives of the emperor's favourite residences, and again in a passage where it is coupled with his great villa in the Alban Hills, at Castel Gandolfo, by a faithless wife who pleaded to her husband the emperor's orders to meet him early at one or the other. Of the villa itself we may still recognise a thermal establishment, and a large open cistern with a portico or colonnade surrounding it. That it was a luxurious villa with baths, rather than a small country town, is shown by the elaborate arrangements that had been made for the water supply—a series of large cisterns, connected with one another by an aqueduct, which drew its supply apparently from local springs, and not from the Volscian mountains, which, despite their arid appearance, are not lacking in water, and indeed supplied the Roman aqueduct of Terracina.

The Lago di Paola, a long, narrow lagoon which immediately follows the line of dunes along the coast, is reached from the sea by a canal, with embankment walls which certainly belong to the early imperial period. At its further end another canal, in which no Roman traces can be detected, continues on to the lakes of Caprolace and Fogliano, further up the coast ; while at the near end a far more definitely Roman canal cuts off the often perilous voyage round the whole promontory of Circeii and comes out in the bay of Terracina. All these works are rightly put by Lugli into relation with the ambitious

scheme of Nero's two freedmen Severus and Celer to excavate a navigable canal from Lake Avernus to Ostia, along the barren shore or through difficult mountains.

It was an insane idea, for, as Tacitus says,

'there is no source from which the water to feed the canal could be derived except the Pomptine marshes ; the rest is precipitous or arid, and if it could be broken through, the labour would be intolerable and without sufficient justification. Nero, however, with his appetite for the marvellous, attempted to excavate the hills close to Lake Avernus, and traces of his vain attempts may still be seen.'

Suetonius also treats the project as that of a madman, and perhaps rightly ; for Pliny tells us that the works had caused serious damage to the Cæcuban vineyards in the bay of Amyclæ, which lies immediately to the south-west of that of Terracina ; and there would have been no point in excavating a canal here far enough inland to do any considerable harm to cultivation unless with the object of avoiding the whole promontory of Gæta, the piercing of which would have been an impossible enterprise, for the modern railway passes under it by a tunnel nearly five miles long, and the highest point of the road is some 800 feet above sea-level. And yet the dangers of the coast were considerable ; for in the very same year the fleet, which Nero had ordered to return from Formiæ at a given date, whatever the weather, was to a great extent lost off Cumæ in doubling the promontory of Misenum in the vain attempt to carry out his orders.

Another interesting work by Lugli is the full description of the excavation on the site of Horace's Sabine farm, which has at last appeared. The identification seems to be entirely satisfactory. It was proposed for the first time by one of the first and one of the best of the explorers of the neighbourhood of Rome, the German priest, Lucas Holste of Hamburg, who, in his notes to Cluver's 'Italia Antiqua,'\* correctly identified the site of the *fanum putre Vacunæ*, which, as all lovers of Horace know, was close to

\* They are marginal notes to his own copy of Cluver, which is preserved in the Barberini library, and were published, exactly as they were, five years after his death in 1861, by his patron and friend, Cardinal Francesco Barberini, whose librarian he was ('Lucæ Holstenii Annotationes in Italianam antiquam Cluverii,' etc., Rome, 1866).

the villa and of the village of Digestia ; but he was not able to effect the solution of a problem which had puzzled other writers and continued to be a source of discussion, so that no less than ten erroneous theories had to be cleared away.

Just about a century later, a certain Petrocchi,\* a notary of Vicovaro, found what he rightly believed to be the actual site of the villa, and passed on the information to Domenico de Sanctis of Tivoli, as well as to the French abbé, Capmartin de Chaupy, who proceeded to dispute as to the priority of the discovery. The former persuaded Baron di Santodille, Minister of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany to the Holy See, to undertake excavations ; and some part of the building came to light. We do not know whether it was on that occasion that a small fragment of mosaic pavement was found, belonging to the corner of one of the rooms, which is shown on the frontispiece to Hackert's collection of views of the villa and its surroundings (1780), and which, until the recent excavations, was all that was visible on the site,† and was regularly shown to tourists.

But, about the middle of last century, another hypothesis made its appearance, which was adopted by Boissier, and for that reason enjoyed a certain amount of favour—according to which the villa was situated a good deal higher up, and not very far from Roccagiovane. Lugli is, however, able to point out that the lower site, which is on a terrace facing the village of Licenza, satisfies, in a most striking way, Horace's description of the scenery which surrounded his well-loved home, especially the lines

‘continui montes, ni dissocientur opaca  
valle, sed ut veniens dextrum latus adspiciat sol,  
lævom discedens curru fugiente vaporet.’

Among these mountains we must seek the ‘amoenus Lucretilis’ ; and Lugli identifies it either with the Colle Rotondo, immediately behind Roccagiovane or with the whole group of hills to the west of the villa.

\* Petrocchi was no doubt aided in his identification by the discovery of the famous inscription mentioning the *massa Mandelana*, by which the site of the *fugosus erigore pagus* was fixed.

† See ‘Quarterly Review,’ October 1909, p. 447 ; but Chaupy speaks only of the ‘nombreuses petites pierres de couleur, qui sont les débris des Mosaïques, dont tous les entours sont semés’ (III, 354).

The building itself, too, clearly belongs to the period of Horace, and is of quite a moderate size, though forming a pleasant residence enough. It consists of a series of rooms opening on to a portico on the south (seen in the extreme left of the picture) and another series divided from the first by a passage, and facing the north, and looking towards the village of Licenza. In the background up the valley, in the folds of the hills, is a spring which may correspond to the famous and much sought Fons Bandusiae, first identified by Dennis, of Etruscan fame, and accepted by Hallam in the last edition of his delightful little work.

The portico on the south of the villa is carried round the other three sides of a rectangular garden, which is some 112 feet wide and 250 feet long. On the extreme west is a small set of baths, much enlarged at a later period, so that they extended about halfway along the west wall of the garden ; and it was into this portion of the ruins that a church and a monastery dedicated to SS. Peter and Marcellinus were built. The main portion of the villa, on the other hand, was left almost untouched (with the exception of the addition of a fountain in the courtyard which formed the centre of the northern range of rooms), and the mosaic pavements, with geometrical designs, including that which had so long been visible in isolation, are contemporary with the original structure. It is tempting to believe, as the design of one of these pavements, with a rectangular space for the bed, encourages us to do, that we may be able to identify Horace's own room.

Another controversy, unfortunately, is not yet at an end—that as to whether Horace had, or had not, a villa at Tivoli. Despite the arguments brought against the theory by Lugli, I must still, with Hallam, express myself as unhesitatingly as before in its favour. As he has long ago pointed out, S. Antonio corresponds extremely well with the description of the scenery of Tibur given by Horace, who from here would have looked out on to the deep gorge of the Aino, the 'domus Albuneæ resonantis.' A very large number of little votive offerings that were discovered in 1898 and again quite recently on the opposite side, below the so-called villa of Mæcenas, have, not without probability, been attributed to her cult. Nor

is it so easy to get round the well-known passage of Suetonius ; \* and it has indeed been quite recently pointed out † that the *aut* is disjunctive, and quite unlike *seu* in Catullus' lines, 'O funde noster *seu* Sabine *seu* Tiburs,' etc. ; so that it must allude to two estates and not one. After all, if Horace had but one up to 23 or 22 B.C., what was to prevent him from acquiring another later on ? Nor need the objection that the villa at S. Antonio was too large or magnificent deter us : we have but little of the superstructure, and if the supporting walls of the various terraces seem imposing and therefore expensive, Horace himself probably did not build them, for it was in all likelihood another gift from Augustus or Mæcenas.

Much more might have been said to illustrate the interest and importance of the discoveries which have been enumerated, rather than fully discussed, in the foregoing article ; and it has been necessary to omit all mention of work on other sites and monuments, such as the tomb of the Scipios, where restoration and conservation have been undertaken with great skill and taste. But enough has perhaps been brought forward to indicate the vigour with which the investigation of Rome and its neighbourhood—and, indeed, of the whole of Italy—is being carried on at the present moment. Many, of course, of the discoveries that are made are due to the spread of cultivation ; and in some districts, notably the Campagna di Roma, what is not recorded to-day is perhaps obliterated a few weeks hence. In the meantime, those who are fortunate enough to live in Italy at the present moment cannot complain of any lack of archæological interest.

THOMAS ASHBY.

\* 'Vixit plurimum in secessu ruris sui Sabini aut Tiburtini : domusque eius ostenditur circa Tiburni luculum.'

† G. H. Hallam in 'Classical Review,' 1928, 125.

## Art. 8.—A DIPLOMAT'S DIARY.

*The Diary of Philipp von Neumann, 1819–1850.* Translated and edited from the original manuscript by E. Beresford Chancellor. Philip Allan, 1928.

'WE spend our years as a tale that is told,' and there are several ways in which a diarist may tell it. He may be egoistic, like Samuel Pepys; he may design piquant revelation of inner history, like Charles Greville; or he may discreetly record incidents and personal impressions, like Madame d'Arblay. The diary of Philipp von Neumann, which Mr Beresford Chancellor has translated, edited, and annotated, differs from these both in character and motive. The writer betrays no thought of ultimate publication, using it, to quote his own expression, merely as helping 'to jog my memory, which has always been a bad one for dates.' In the main, therefore, it is a daily summary of official interviews and social engagements, with enough personal comment and observation to throw occasional sidelight upon men and women of note during a momentous period in British history. The highways and byways of society and politics in that period having been so freely laid bare by Croker, Charles Greville, Creevey, and others, Neumann's diary adds little to what is already known; but, as a foreign diplomat long officially stationed in London, his observations are made from a different point of view. The result is not exciting as literature, but it is useful to see ourselves occasionally as others have seen us.

Born in Vienna in 1781, Philipp Freiherr von Neumann entered the diplomatic service in 1803, and in 1814 was appointed Secretary to the Austrian Embassy in London, subsequently as Councillor acting as Chargé d'affaires during the Ambassador Prince Esterhazy's frequent absence on the Continent. He retained his appointment till 1833, when he returned to Vienna, but he was back in London in 1840. The close relations which endured throughout those years between the British and Austrian Governments ensured for Neumann a friendly reception in this country, but it must have been his handsome person and charming manners that made him such a frequent and welcome guest in private houses both in town and country. Aristocrat *au bout des ongles*, we learn

little from him about the vicissitudes of trade and agriculture or about the condition of the working classes, except when the displeasure of the latter vents itself in breaking the windows of unpopular Ministers or is roused in fury for Reform.

Neumann had been four years at his post in London before he began to keep a diary; wherefore we learn nothing about his first impressions of English society. One of his earliest notes is on Oct. 7, 1819, when he was on a visit to Lady Granville at Wherstead near Ipswich.

'I was unwell and ate nothing all day; nevertheless I went down to the drawing-room after 10 o'clock and there found Charles Greville who had just arrived. Lord Charles Fitzroy came at 11, but did not put in an appearance, not wishing to change so late. This seemed to me a striking example of the formality of English customs, which do not allow of one appearing after a certain hour in clothes which are appropriate to another period of the day. Everything here has to give way to convention, even the dearest affections and sentiments; but in a country where liberty and license are so allied, it is only by such restrictions that one can prevent them overlapping.'

On another occasion he remarks that 'the English have a quiet way of exhibiting their friendliness which is a thousand times more eloquent than anything I know.' The endless list of dinner-parties, balls, and receptions at which he was a guest is somewhat wearisome to the reader. Neumann was a bit of an epicure; after dining with Watson Taylor he wishes the millionaire had a better cook, and in a later year his verdict upon a banquet given by William IV at Buckingham Palace is that 'the appearance of the dinner was magnificent in consequence of the splendour of the plate and so forth, but the dinner itself was detestable.' The Palace itself, though not yet finished, had already cost 740,000*l.*, and he did not consider it worth the money. On the other hand, Devonshire House (now demolished) struck him as superb; and at a ball given by the Duchess of Sutherland at Stafford House (now the London Museum) he thinks it is 'perhaps the finest [house] in Europe.'

Howbeit, graver matters than these occupied Neumann's thoughts in 1820. George III was hardly cold

in his grave when the new King opened one of the most unsavoury chapters in English history by demanding of his Ministers that they should proceed with measures for the divorce of Queen Caroline. Neumann was frequently present during debates on the subject in both Houses of Parliament, and has much to say about incidents during the Queen's trial, but he adds nothing to our knowledge of a matter which has been so thoroughly threshed out. He felt no doubt about the gravity of the crisis. 'The excitement throughout the country is such that . . . if ever this country was near a revolution it is now. . . . This is the inextricable dilemma in which the country finds itself through the obstinacy of the King and the unpardonable weakness of his Ministers in giving way to it' (vol. I, p. 39). Referring to Denman's dramatic speech in the Queen's defence, Neumann observes that the analogy drawn between his Royal client's position and that of Octavia, wife of the Emperor Nero, was 'both daring and happy.'

The ominous course of public affairs interfered no whit with the diarist's round of social amusement. Theatres and concerts, dinner-parties in London, and country-house visits are recorded in endless succession. He found time also for much miscellaneous reading, spending 'a whole day' over Byron's 'Don Juan,' and another over 'The Abbot.' By this time—1820—the authorship of the Waverley novels had become an open secret, although seven years had still to elapse before Scott could be induced to acknowledge it. Neumann was in no doubt about it, and observes that 'it often happens with Scott that he does not know what to do with his heroes, who are, as it were, submerged in the great scenes which go to make up the work.' No doubt he had also perused Byron's slashing censure of the waltz, which was first introduced from Germany to London in 1821:

'To Germany, and Highnesses Serene,  
Who owe us millions—don't we owe the Queen ?

Who sent us—so be pardoned all her faults—  
A dozen Dukes, some Kings, a Queen—and Waltz'—

but that did not hinder Neumann from noting how, at Lady Floyd's ball, he gave Lady Elizabeth Murray her first lesson in the new dance.

About his own love passages the diarist is honourably but tantalisingly discreet, perhaps because the impression left by each was too deep to require jogs to memory. In one of these affairs the fair one's identity is veiled under the initial C., in another as Madame M.; but even that slender clue is wanting in something that went wrong on—

'11th July (1828), the most unhappy day for me, of which there is no need to set down the circumstances in this journal, because it will be for ever engraved on my memory and will have a permanent influence on my destiny.'

The diary, in fact, was abruptly interrupted at this point, containing only a few disjointed entries for several months thereafter. Thus :

'31st December. I end this year in the same state as I have been in since July 11th. All the interest of my life is concentrated on the event by which that day is marked, and nothing holds any more enjoyment for me.'

But a mysterious change had come over his prospect before the following July, when, Prince Esterhazy having arranged that he should join him at the Embassy in Paris, Neumann notes, 'The idea of leaving this country overwhelms me. All the interest of my life is centred here.'

So much for the chapter of *amourettes*. In 1842 Neumann, being of the mature age of sixty-one, became engaged to Miss Emily Johnstone, who died before the marriage could be celebrated; and two years later he married Lady Augusta Somerset, eldest daughter of the 7th Duke of Beaufort.

Scarcely had the dangerous agitation arising out of Queen Caroline's trial subsided with her death than the nation was horrified by Lord Castlereagh's suicide. To Neumann the news conveyed a grievous shock, for he entertained the warmest admiration for Castlereagh both as statesman and personal friend. Castlereagh had succeeded his father as 2nd Marquess of Londonderry in the previous year, but he continued as Leader of the House of Commons to the last.\* In common with other

\* In a footnote (vol. I, p. 63) the editor remarks that Castlereagh 'had apparently not yet taken his seat in the House of Lords.' Nor did he ever do so, his marquisate and viscountcy being in the peerage of Ireland. His half-brother Charles, who succeeded him as 3rd Marquess, had been created in 1814 Baron Stewart in the peerage of the United Kingdom.

writers of the period dealing with this tragedy, our diarist seems to have had no inkling of the cruel blackmail to which Castlereagh had long been exposed and which proved a crowning factor in wrecking an intellect already dangerously over-wrought in the public service.

The coronation of George IV must have been a wearisome pageant. 'We started at 6 o'clock in the morning. . . . We were standing for 19 hours. . . . We did not get back to the Embassy till half-past eleven at night.' Nevertheless, Neumann was deeply impressed. 'It was the most magnificent ceremony which I believe it is possible to imagine; splendour, gorgeousness, grandeur, dignity, majesty were all exhibited in it. . . . I went with the idea of seeing a theatrical show, and I came away with a religious feeling.' In sombre contrast to all this pomp was another scene which he witnessed about this time in visiting Newgate Prison.

'There were twenty-four in one part on whom sentence of death had been passed, and who were awaiting what they call the King's pleasure as to the date of their execution.\* There were also three boys of from 8 to 10 years of age in the same case, and the sentence in such cases is never carried out, being commuted to deportation.'

In 1826 Neumann was recalled to Vienna in order to proceed thence on a mission to Brazil. On arriving in the Austrian capital he notes :

'I experienced a singular sensation in seeing it again after an absence of twelve years. Everything seemed so small and narrow after London, which is, and will for long remain, the capital of the world through its splendour, its beauty and its wealth.'

The chief interest of this diary consists in notes of conversation with persons distinguished in politics, literature, and society in general, among whom Neumann reckoned Wellington *facile princeps*. As a frequent guest at Strathfieldsaye and Apsley House (the latter being known among the wits as 'No. 1, London'), he records many of his host's reminiscences of the Peninsular and Waterloo campaigns; but those who have read Lord Stanhope's 'Conversations' will not find much fresh

\* The Monarch had no hand in fixing the date of execution, only in exercising the Royal mercy in reprieve thereof.

matter in what he said about them to Neumann. One of the Duke's remarks, however, bears significantly on the much disputed question whether he was taken by surprise on the eve of Quatre-Bras and Waterloo. He told Neumann that he considered 'Napoleon's finest strategic operation was the passage of the Sambre on June 15.' \* It is well known that Wellington, expecting the attack to be delivered by way of Mons and Hal on the west, had disposed his forces with that in view, keeping 20,000 troops in observation at Hal which would have served a better purpose at Waterloo. When news of the advance of the French through Charleroi reached him at the Duchess of Richmond's ball in Brussels, he took the Duke of Richmond aside and exclaimed, 'Napoleon has humbugged me, by G—— ! he has gained twenty-four hours' march upon me.' †

During the violent upheaval following on the rejection of the Reform Bill by the House of Lords, the Duke of Wellington seemed to Neumann 'to be quite overcome by the turn of events, and regards the revolution as having practically begun.' Social entertainments, however, went on as usual, and the diarist was one of a large party assembled at Strathfieldsaye on Jan. 19, 1833. After dinner Colonel Gurwood, the editor of the 'Wellington Despatches,' reminded the company that it was the anniversary of the storming of Ciudad Rodrigo, and in proposing the Duke's health, recalled how he—Gurwood—having made prisoner the French General commanding the garrison, handed his sword to Wellington on the bridge going into the town.

Neumann notes many interviews and excursions with Canning's niece, Lady Clanricarde—'one of my most intimate friends.' Speaking of her uncle's relations with the Duke of Wellington, she said that Canning's ambition and irritability and Wellington's haughtiness were bars to their working effectively together. It is, however, matter of common knowledge that the rift between them had its origin in Wellington's resentment of Canning's overtures to the Whigs during Liverpool's last illness.

\* The Duke expressed this opinion even more strongly to Greville, saying that 'Bonaparte's march on Belgium was the finest thing that ever was done—so rapid and so well combined.'

† 'Letters of the 1st Earl of Malmesbury,' II, 445.

During his sojourn in Brazil Neumann was chiefly occupied in diplomatic business concerning Dom Miguel's claim to the Regency of Portugal. Among scattered notes on the products of the country he quaintly observes about the bread-fruit: 'One cannot sufficiently admire Providence which has indemnified the country where the heat does not allow wheat to grow in giving it this equivalent'; but he admits that the equivalent has 'little flavour.'

Neumann returned to his post in London in the autumn of 1827. On the accession of King William IV he remarks that it was peculiar that Lord Conynghame, as High Steward, should receive the oaths of the House of Commons, 'considering the rôle his wife played about the late King.' He comments on the absence of the Duchess of Kent and Princess Victoria from the Coronation, owing to the Duchess being dissatisfied with the place assigned to them in the ceremony. He also notes that King William has signified his pleasure that the servants of Mrs Fitzherbert, whom his brother had married in 1785, should wear the Royal liveries. Talleyrand became French Ambassador at St. James's in 1830, and Neumann got on the verge—perhaps somewhat over the verge—of serious flirtation with the Duchesse de Dino, the Ambassador's lively niece. At all events, she confided to him details of her *affaires de cœur*, whereof she still had one on hand, but assured him it was dying out.

During Neumann's residence at Vienna from 1833 to 1840, his diary contains some amusing personal notes, such as that of the dilemma of the Duchesse de Sagan (sister of Princess Hohenzollern), who, 'being a Roman Catholic, does not talk about it because it might cast doubts upon the validity of her marriage with Count Schulenberg, her two former husbands, the Prince de Rohan and Prince Troubetskoy, being still alive.' Dining one evening with Prince Metternich, Neumann met Honoré de Balzac and the Marquis de Custine, and observes that 'the latter has the air of a man quite *comme il faut*; the other of one not *comme il faut* at all.' This brings to mind a reflection by Théophile Gautier: 'Il se fait d'ailleurs d'étranges revirements dans les réputations, et les auréoles changent souvent de têtes. Après la mort des fronts obscurs s'allument. Pour les uns, la posterité —c'est la nuit; pour les autres—c'est l'aurore!' It would

puzzle most of us to record any achievement by the Marquis de Custine, whereas the author of '*la Comédie Humaine*' is still with us, notwithstanding the refusal of the *immortels* to elect him to *l'Académie Française*.

Returning to England in 1833, Neumann resumed the old round of social entertainment, his first country-house visit being to Broadlands, where she who, only eight days before, had been Countess Cowper now reigned as the bride of Lord Palmerston. '*The Railway*', remarks the diarist, 'took me as far as Basingstoke, forty-six English miles in two and a quarter hours!' He was present at Queen Victoria's marriage in 1840, and thought some of the expressions in the English marriage service 'remarkable,' especially 'Albert, wilt thou have this woman to be thy wedded wife?' and 'Victoria, wilt thou have Albert to be thy wedded husband?' In the following year the Duke of Wellington told him that he had invited Prince Albert to the annual Waterloo banquet at Apsley House, but that the Queen, 'or rather her Ministers,' had caused him to decline the invitation. 'How different,' observes Neumann, 'it was with William IV, who, notwithstanding the great fault he committed in keeping back for a time from his people the Reform Bill, which the interests of the country required, possessed the gift of tact and delicacy.'

Having now been escorted by the diarist over the threshold of what is termed the Victorian age, we may allow him to make his bow with the following pious reflection :

'Dec. 4th, 1841. To-day I reached my sixtieth year. Up to now God has given me good health and a certain amount of happiness, for which I thank Him daily. He has also permitted me to accomplish with satisfaction and success the important and difficult duties which have been confided to me; and although I have not been rewarded in proportion to my great services, I do not the less thank Providence that it has allowed me to acquit myself adequately.'

The diary ends abruptly on Feb. 15, 1850, and nothing further is known about Baron Neumann save that shortly before that date he had been appointed Envoy Extraordinary at Brussels, that his wife was at that time in England expecting her confinement, that she died in that year, and Neumann himself on Jan. 14 following.

HERBERT MAXWELL.

## Art. 9.—EDUCATION IN INDIA.

1. *Unhappy India.* By Lajpat Rai, Member of the Legislative Assembly. Calcutta, 1928.
2. *The Education of India.* By Arthur Mayhew, C.I.E. Faber and Gwyer, 1926.
3. *The Heart of Aryavarta.* By Lord Ronaldshay. Constable, 1925.
4. *The India We Served.* By Sir Walter Lawrence, G.C.I.E. Cassell, 1928.
5. *Village Uplift in India.* By F. L. Brayne, M.C., I.C.S. Pioneer Press, Allahabad.
6. *Selections from the Educational Records of the Government of India.* (I) (1781–1839). By H. Sharp, C.S.I. (II) (1840–59). By J. A. Richey, C.I.E. Bureau of Education, Government Press, Calcutta.
7. *India, the New Phase.* By Sir Stanley Reed, K.B.E., LL.D., and P. R. Cadell, C.S.I., C.I.E. (Westminster Library.) Philip Allan & Co., 1928.

‘Through our policy has always run a vein of knight errantry—of what may be called the sporting spirit—which has led us into strange circumstances, but to which the development of our Empire owes most of the interest it possesses from the philosophic point of view. Our Empire rests upon authority, yet we have not scrupled to teach doctrines which belittle authority as the foundation of government and exalt in its place a liberty of individual judgment which brings our rule to the bar of a new and uncertain tribunal.’ \*

It is not easy to discern knight errantry in the domestic policy of the earliest rulers of British India. There were indeed knights errant, pioneers who died in faith, not having received the promises, ‘but were persuaded of them and embraced them.’ The Government at first looked on. It was pledged to strict neutrality in all matters of custom and religion, and took time to realise that, however solemn those pledges might be, both the force of circumstances and the character of the British people prevented prolonged truckling to ignorance and to customs which plainly sinned against humanity. After long delays and much hesitation, suttee had to go; and when it was

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\* ‘Indian Life and Sentiment,’ pp. 297–8.

finally prohibited by law the way lay open for general advance. For some years public grants had been annually allotted to the revival and improvement of Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic literature and 'the introduction and promotion of the sciences,' but no one knew exactly what to do with these somewhat meagre allowances. Was the old learning to be resuscitated or was a beginning to be made of a serious endeavour to turn India's face in a new direction? In which of these two courses did salvation lie? The answer was given in Bengal by a section of the literary class of Hindus quite as emphatically as it was given by Macaulay and Bentinck.

But the question was not so simple as it seemed. Other important issues were involved. British India had its own indigenous self-supporting village schools, not very many or very efficient, serving a very limited class, but self-supporting. What was to be done about these? Could anything direct be done to call into existence a useful vernacular literature? And last, but by no means least, was the Government to take measures to break down the prejudice which existed against the education of women?

One thing, however, at a time. Funds were clearly limited. If one crucial decision were taken, other problems could gradually be solved. It is barely a century ago since this decision was taken; and we are now on the verge of a new and even graver decision. The educational policy of 1835 has achieved great triumphs, but has led to much disillusionment. Although by the Reforms Act of 1919 the educational destinies of the nine major provinces of British India were entrusted to ministers responsible to representative bodies, all disappointments are still laid to our charge. We have even been accused of deliberately scheming to create a class of 'subordinate officials and hirelings,' of having taken no thought for cultural or material improvement; \* and on our side, Sir Walter Lawrence wonders why the wise men of the East India Company admitted the solvent of English education, and contemplates, with a certain despair, results which are 'all a muddle.' Let us see first what were the antecedents and circumstances of that admission; †

\* In Mr Lajpat Rai's 'Unhappy India.'

† 'There is no subject so much misunderstood' ('India, the New Phase,' p. 132).

next how the policy of 1835 developed into the larger and more spacious scheme of 1854; and finally, we may examine briefly the reasons for the two chief disappointments for which we are held to be responsible.

The centre of action was Calcutta. British educational policy, from the days of Warren Hastings to those of Lord William Bentinck, was largely influenced by conditions round and near the capital. The men who shaped it found Bengal with scattered, self-supporting schools of its own of the existence of which they only gradually became aware. Its leading Hindu castes possess no martial traditions, but have always been remarkable for intellectual, literary and clerical capacity. The Brahmins taught the Sanskrit language, that inexhaustible mine of Hindu religion, philosophy and literature, to pupils of their own and occasionally of other privileged castes. Schoolmasters who belonged to the Brahman or Kayestha (writers') caste instructed sons of tradesmen or well-to-do agriculturists in reading, writing or elementary arithmetic. Hindu doctors practised and taught the Ayurvedic theory of medicine. Muslims had their own systems, and learned Muslims gave instruction in Persian and Arabic, in the Koran and Islamic philosophy. But all this education was for boys and men of comparatively small and limited classes. The masses were untouched; and the education of girls was so much opposed to popular ideas that even in 1836 William Adam, after careful investigation, reported to Lord Auckland's government that although landholders sometimes instructed their daughters in writing and accounts with a view to rendering them less helpless in the event of early widowhood, it was difficult to obtain from any landholder an admission that his daughter was literate. James Forbes gives us a glimpse of some Brahman schools in Western India on the Nerbudda about 1784. The boys, he says, sitting on mats or cow-dung floors, learnt as much of religion as their caste permitted, as well as reading, writing and arithmetic; the two latter by making letters and figures in sand upon the floor 'which is the oriental manner of instruction.'

Learning of all kinds was under eclipse when Warren Hastings took charge of Bengal in 1772. The province

\* 'Oriental Memoirs,' II, p. 99.

had long been desolated by Maratha raids, by wars, by oppression and misgovernment. Brahmins, the chief teachers, were strongly disinclined to reveal their tenets and customs to the new rulers, but soon yielded to the sympathetic tact of Hastings, who lost no time in summoning Pundits from different parts of the province to prepare an authoritative manual of Hindu law. Later on, when Governor-General, he purchased a site for a Muhammadan college out of his own pocket and assisted Sir William Jones, the first of those great Orientalists who have done so much to spread abroad in Europe a knowledge of Eastern religions and languages, to establish 'the Asiatic Society of Bengal.' John Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, tells us that Jones' early death in 1794 so deeply affected some of his Brahman friends, that in speaking of 'the wonderful progress which he had made in the sciences which they professed,' they could not restrain their tears.\* In 1792 the government of Lord Cornwallis proclaimed a determination 'to preserve the laws of the Shaster and the Koran, and to protect the natives of India in the free exercise of their religion.' All rites and customs were to be tolerated; religious liabilities created by former rulers were to be accepted as trusts.

Governors-General, preoccupied by wars and rumours of wars, might hold that 'attention, protection and forbearance' † were all that was needed in Bengal; but Charles Grant, a civil servant employed in the commercial branch, was led by years of experience of social conditions in an up-country district to think otherwise. Grant was not only a faithful and extremely capable servant of the Company, but deeply religious; and he earned the warm regard of Lord Cornwallis, who wrote of him as his 'most worthy and valuable friend.' Retiring from India in 1790 he came into contact with William Wilberforce and prompted the latter's attempt in 1792 to induce the House of Commons to insert clauses in the Bill for the renewal of the East India Company's charter, providing for the sending to and maintaining in India schoolmasters and persons approved by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London 'for the religious and social improvement' of the inhabitants of British territory. The Court

\* Jones' Collected Works, 'Shore's Memoir,' vol. II, p. 307.

† Hastings' words.

of Directors, however, objected that they could not possibly be expected to provide their presidency governments with missionary departments. The Indian people must be left to follow their own systems of faith and morals. The House of Commons agreed ; and Wilberforce turned his attention to other matters, while Grant elaborated a treatise which he called 'Observations on the state of Society among the Asiatic subjects of Great Britain, particularly with respect to morals, and means of improving it.' He was elected to the Court of Directors, and in 1797 laid his work before his colleagues among whom he acquired great influence, rising to be Deputy Chairman in 1804 and Chairman in 1805. When, in 1813, the Company's charter came once more before Parliament for renewal, he sat in the House of Commons, and his Observations were printed by order of that body. In trenchant and fearless language, animated, as a Muhammadan historian says,\* 'by the purest desire for bringing about a happier state of things,' he gave his impressions of social and moral conditions among Hindus and Muhammadans in Bengal and urged that the happiness of all was destroyed by such customs as suttee, female infanticide, 'the perpetual abasement and unlimited subjection' in which the lower orders of Hindus were kept by the Brahmanical system, and further by a number of 'inveterate disorders' which could only be cured by education, and first of all by education in English, which would open the door to a world of new ideas. Knowledge of the Christian religion would instil new views of duty ; and every branch of natural philosophy would follow in time, above all the principles of mechanics and their application to agriculture and the useful arts. At present, custom was law and invention was torpid. The path which the first passenger had marked was trodden with so little deviation by every successor that it had only the width of a single track. Free schools should be established for the teaching of English, the best channel for the spread of modern knowledge. We would thus probably wed the inhabitants of our territories to England ; but, in any case, we would do our duty and perform a lasting service to mankind. If, however, English were not employed, the country

\* Sayid Mahmud, 'History of English Education in India.' Aligarh Press, 1895.

languages might be used to spread abroad the truths of Christianity in which all the other proposed 'meliorations' were involved.

The part played by Grant's Observations in the initiation of an educational policy has been ignored or underrated by historians. Yet the treatise did much to inspire the persuasive eloquence of Wilberforce in the debates of 1813, and was reprinted as a parliamentary paper when the charter came under review, twenty years later, and Grant had long been in his grave. Other influences, too, were busy in 1813. The famous Baptist missionaries, Carey, Marshman, and Ward, overcoming difficulties which would have daunted less resolute spirits, had years before made their way to Calcutta, established a paper-manufactory and a printing-press at Serampur, a neighbouring Danish settlement, set up schools for European and Indian boys and disseminated translations of the books of the Bible in various Indian languages.\* Carey was not only a great missionary but a linguistic genius and an accomplished Oriental scholar. His noble character and single-minded piety profoundly impressed Lord Wellesley who appointed him Bengali lecturer in his new college for young civil servants. The translations of the Bible which issued from the Serampur Press not only spread new ideas abroad, but assisted in laying the foundations of Bengali prose literature.† Another pioneer of Western education was David Hare, watchmaker and rationalist, whose memory is still honoured in Calcutta. It was largely through his endeavours that leading Europeans and Indians, headed by Sir Hyde East, Chief Justice, decided to establish a school for the tuition of sons of 'respectable' Hindu parents in European and Asiatic 'literature and science.' Hare's principal coadjutor was Ram Mohan Roy, a Brahman who has been called by one of his countrymen 'the first brilliant product of European influence in India.'‡ An accomplished Sanskrit scholar, he at first disliked British rule in India but afterwards decided that it meant progress in many things and chief of all in

\* See the article on 'Baptist Missions,' February 1809, 'Quarterly Review.'

† See Bishop Whitehead's 'Indian Problems,' p. 144, and Edward Thompson's 'Rabindranath Tagore,' p. 6.

‡ R. C. Dutt in his 'Literature of Bengal.'

breaking the heavy shackles of inveterate custom. He did not stand alone; but the Government of the day preferred rather to rest on the assurances of the Orientalists that the evils of the time were due to decay of the old indigenous learning of the country. They were spending money already on a Sanskrit college at Benares and were planning to spend more on other Sanskrit colleges.

Legislation by Parliament in 1813 reflected strongly the increasing influence of missionary societies, Anglican and Nonconformist. But the views of the Government of India were also considered. Moved largely by Wilberforce's eloquent pleading, the House of Commons resolved that such measures should be adopted as might lead to 'the introduction into India of useful knowledge and moral improvements.' Missionaries were to be allowed in future to appeal to the Board of Control against refusals by the Court of Directors to allow them to proceed to that country. But the principles on which the natives of India had always relied for the free exercise of their religions must inviolably be maintained. At a late stage of the debates a clause was added to the Bill which allowed the Governor-General to direct that a sum of not less than one lakh of rupees (10,000*l.*) should annually be set apart from revenues and applied to 'the revival and improvement of literature and the introduction or promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of British India.' The author of this clause was Robert Percy Smith \* who had been Advocate-General in Calcutta. By 'the sciences' he clearly meant Western sciences. His draft, slightly modified by the President of the Board of Control, passed through the House without opposition † and initiated systematic patronage of education by the State in India long before any Government in England undertook such a responsibility. But what form was State patronage to take? On this point the Directors were hazy. On June 3, 1814, they wrote that the clause presented two distinct propositions, and went on to offer suggestions. There were Sanskrit tracts on

\* Bobus Smith, 'a man of great originality, a profound thinker and of wide grasp of mind,' brother of the famous Sydney (D.N.B., XVIII, p. 524).

† Parl. Debates, July 2, 1813, pp. 1087-1088; Bills Public (2) Sessions; Nov. 24-July 22, 1812-1813 (II), p. 1197.

the virtues of plants and drugs which might prove useful to the European practitioner; and there were treatises on astronomy and mathematics which, although they might not add new light to European science, might become 'links of communication between the natives and gentlemen in our service attached to the Observatory and the department of engineers.' By such means Indians might gradually be led to adopt modern improvements in these and other sciences. The self-supporting character of the indigenous systems of education excited warm approbation, and the teachers were recommended to the 'protection' of the Government. Inquiry was made as to exact conditions in these schools. But the Governor-General's mind was occupied by the Pindari and Maratha wars. So beyond minuting in favour of improving indigenous education and patronising a Calcutta school-book society which owed its origin to a pamphlet published by Marshman, the Serampur missionary, Lord Hastings did nothing. The Society was liberally supported by the European community of Calcutta.

But the door was now open to the missionaries. Ram Mohan Roy and Hare were gaining recruits. In October 1823, Reginald Heber \* observed the friendly feeling toward mission-schools, which, however, were very rarely attended by Muslim boys. Two months later he commented on the increasing tendency 'to imitate the English in everything.' This had already led to important results and would lead to still more important results in future. Many wealthy Indians spoke English fluently and were tolerably read in English literature. In two or three Bengali newspapers † politics were canvassed with a bias to Whiggism. Among the lower orders even there was a growing neglect of caste and an anxiety to learn English which, if properly encouraged, might in fifty years 'make our language what Oordoo (Hindustani) is at present.' When a 'committee of public instruction,' appointed by the Government and composed of Civil

\* See 'Heber's Narrative and Letters,' John Murray, 1828, vols. I, pp. 295-296, and II, pp. 306-307.

† The first Bengali newspaper (the Samachar Darpan) (mirror of news), issued from the Serampur Press on May 31, 1818 ('Carey, Marshman, and Ward,' pp. 280-281).

Servants, began, with the assistance of their secretary, a medical officer, the Orientalist Horace Hayman Wilson, to establish a new Sanskrit college in Calcutta, they were called on to consider a petition from Ram Mohan Roy which contained these sentences :

' We were filled with sanguine hopes that this sum (the annual grant of 10,000*l.*) would be laid out in employing European gentlemen of talent and education to instruct the natives of India in Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Anatomy and other useful sciences which the nations of Europe have carried to a degree of perfection that has raised them above the inhabitants of other parts of the world. . . . We now find that the government are establishing a Sanskrit school under Hindoo Pundits to impart such knowledge as is already current in India. . . . The pupils will here acquire what was known two thousand years ago, with the addition of vain and empty subtleties since produced by speculative men such as is commonly taught in all parts of India. . . . If it had been intended to keep the British nation in ignorance of real knowledge, the Baconian philosophy would not have been allowed to displace the system of the schoolmen.'

The Petitioner went on to urge that as the policy of the Government was one of enlightenment, a college should be opened for the teaching of Western letters and sciences. This was not done ; but the petition bore witness to a growing movement.

The new Committee of Public Instruction decided to spend the Government grant on attempts to revive classical learning among the literate classes, grafting thereon shoots of Western science wherever practicable. They provided scholarships for promising students of Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic ; they printed in those languages not only original works but translations of such books as Hutton's 'Mathematics,' Croker's 'Land-Surveying,' and Bridge's 'Algebra.' But they soon found that while the School-book Society established in Lord Hastings' time was able to sell 31,000 English works within two years, they were themselves unable to ' dispose of Arabic and Sanskrit volumes enough in three years to pay the expenses of keeping them for two months, to say nothing of the printing expenses.' \* The students of the Government

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\* Trevelyan's 'Education of the People of India' (1838).

Sanskrit College, too, petitioned that they saw little prospect of turning their training to useful account. They were regarded with indifference by their countrymen and trusted that the Government, which had made them what they were, would not abandon them to destitution and neglect. The efforts to graft modern learning on to Arabic had produced no impression whatever either on the few who were Arabic scholars or on the very many Muslims who were unacquainted with that language. Faced with such discouragements, the committee split into halves—the Orientalist and older party and the English or younger party. The first wished to continue the policy of endeavouring to graft European science on existing courses of instruction. The second desired to spend no more money on bounties to students of the classical languages or on printing classical books, but to devote all available funds to conveying to Indians, through the medium of English, the literary and scientific knowledge necessary for a liberal education. Although for some time this knowledge would be confined to a limited circle, it would eventually permeate to the outer community through the channels of a new vernacular literature. These ideas were to become famous as 'the filtration theory.' Neither party was inclined to assist the indigenous rural schools and both agreed that the vernaculars\* at present contained neither the literary nor the scientific information necessary for a liberal education. In Madras and Bombay, however, other views prevailed. Both governments were disposed to use the vernaculars for the diffusion of general knowledge and to see what could be done to improve the rural schools. Meanwhile, in England the Directors were becoming anxious to have at their disposal 'a body of natives qualified by their habits and acquirements to take a larger share in civil administration.' The indigenous schools had ceased to attract attention; and another social problem was looming large.

Ever since the time of Lord Cornwallis certain Civil Servants had protested strongly against the toleration of suttee. Later on the Serampur missionaries took up the same cause and were strongly supported by religious and humanitarian sentiment in the United Kingdom. Wilber-

\* The great variety of these must be borne in mind: see 'India, the New Phase,' p. 4.

force reminded the Commons of Charles Fox's saying that humanity consisted not in a squeamish ear but in being forward and active in relief. But for long the Government of India had been left to take such measures of prevention as seemed advisable, and the Court of Directors hesitated to exercise stringent pressure. A widespread Hindu belief was that suttee was a holy and meritorious act. The Government of India, feeling themselves pledged to respect religious custom, issued feeble instructions to their servants in 1813, 1815 and 1817, which, it was hoped, would at least diminish suttee. Returns and district reports of suttees were sent from India to the Directors with such hopeful deductions as could possibly be screwed from their contents ; but the failure of half-measures was exposed in scathing terms by some of the reports. Ram Mohan Roy, carrying on a bold campaign of dissuasion, was opposed by a counter-campaign and for a time went in fear of his life and was protected by a guard. It was clearly incumbent on the Government to take a firm decision ; and when in 1828 Lord William Bentinck succeeded Lord Amherst, he was instructed by the Directors to consider definite measures for the immediate or gradual stoppage of suttee and lost no time in consulting non-officials and officials as to the best line of action. Both Ram Mohan Roy and H. H. Wilson, the leading Orientalist, opposed downright and immediate abolition, arguing that it would cause general distrust and dissatisfaction. Official opinion consulted was evenly divided. Bentinck courageously abolished suttee in British territory ; and no untoward results followed.

Again, despite Orientalist advice, he established successfully a new medical college for training Indian students entirely on Western lines. Next he addressed himself to the question of education, and decided first to obey the Directors' orders of 1814 and obtain definite information about the indigenous schools. Unfortunately, however, he deferred action until January 1835, the year of his departure ; and in the meantime the cleavage between the two parties on the Committee of Public Instruction had brought their work to a standstill, the Company's charter had been renewed, Parliament had declared that no native of India would in future be debarred from office or employment by reason of religion,

place of birth, descent or colour, and the Directors had written that every effort must be made to enable Indians to compete for the public service by giving them 'the advantages of education or diffusing the treasures of science, knowledge and moral culture.'

Macaulay had arrived at Calcutta as first legal member of the Governor-General's Council and had been appointed President of the Committee of Public Instruction which he found hopelessly divided into opposing halves. He declined to take an active part in proceedings until the Government had passed judgment on the main issue, and on February 2, 1835, submitted his famous minute to Bentinck in support of the English party. In January Bentinck had deputed William Adam, journalist and ex-missionary, to conduct inquiries into indigenous education. But Adam had barely begun his work when Macaulay's minute was laid before the Governor-General's Council with a note recording His Excellency's 'entire concurrence,' and an adverse memorandum drawn up by H. T. Prinsep, Secretary to Government and member of the Committee of Instruction, a Civil Servant of 26 years' service, brother of the remarkable James Prinsep, F.R.S., once secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Prinsep's memorandum, dated February 15, 1835, was excluded from the record by Bentinck's order on the ground that the writer was only a secretary and not a member of Council. But it survived and still gives the case for the Orientalists.\* The author strongly urged the veneration in which Sanskrit and Arabic are held by Hindus and Muslims as communities.

'Undoubtedly,' he wrote, 'there is a very widely-spread anxiety at this time for the attainment of a certain proficiency in English. The sentiment is to be encouraged as the source and fore-runner of great moral improvement to those who feel its influence. . . . It is the Hindus of Calcutta, the Sirkars (accountants and men of business) and Kulim (Brahman) connections, and the descendants and relations of the Sirkars of former days, those who have risen through their connection with the English and with public offices, men who hold that a knowledge of English is a necessary qualification. These are the classes to whom the study of English is as yet confined ;

\* See 'Sharp's Selection from the Educational Records of the Government of India (1781-1839),' Calcutta.

and certainly we have no reason as yet to believe that the Mussulmans in any part of India can be reconciled to it, much less give it a preference to the polite literature of their race.'

But Bentinck had no inclination to listen to further Orientalist advice which, he considered, had twice proved misleading. After a hot dispute between Prinsep and Macaulay, the Council decided on March 7, 1835, that 'the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India'; and that all available funds would be spent to best advantage if devoted to that objective. No college or school of Indian learning which enjoyed any popularity was to be abolished, and professors and students of such institutions who were receiving stipends were to continue to do so. But no more students were to be supported during their period of instruction and no more money was to be employed on printing Oriental books. All funds thus released would be devoted to 'imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of English.'

William Adam did not submit his reports until Bentinck had gone. He then strongly urged that the right policy was to assist the indigenous schools which were in a wretched condition but could be greatly improved. At present a class of men was being produced who stood apart from their countrymen and the British, and found inadequate scope for their attainments. The masses were left in ignorance; so industry languished; crime flourished; the support of the people for salutary measures could not be counted on. But the change of policy suggested must involve unlimited expenditure, and only 24,000*l.* were available for public instruction in the whole Bengal Presidency. A decision, too, had been taken and announced. So Lord Auckland practically adhered to the filtration theory.

Up to 1838 Macaulay dominated the Committee of Public Instruction. Unlike Grant, he cared nothing for science or agriculture but was anxious to lead young Bengal to a knowledge of the best English literature, which he relied on as a strong cultural influence. The vernaculars would gradually become enriched and improved so that later on they would become suitable vehicles for imparting Western knowledge, which would necessarily

lead to a rapid abandonment of the old religions. Alexander Duff, the great Scottish missionary, however, pointed out that teaching in the State schools would exclude religion. There would be a void which the missionaries must endeavour to fill. Modern knowledge, like the ocean, rolled its waters from shore to shore. But if, like the ocean, it had its gentle breezes, might it not have its storms and quicksands too ? \*

Macaulay's inclination to purely literary courses accorded with the inherited tastes of people whose traditional systems of learning were literary and religious. But despite the momentous pronouncement of 1835, in Bengal only was the teaching of English continuously preferred to all other educational objectives. Even there this policy was modified ; and had not the rage for learning English spread rapidly among the literary and professional classes in Calcutta, events might have taken a different course. The years which followed 1835 were years of doubt, of uneven direction and of scanty expenditure. Wars came thick and fast. As Dalhousie observed, the public finances were 'in a condition which clogged the action of the government.' James Thomason, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, estimating that out of a population of 21,630,167 only 50,026 Hindus and 14,309 Muhammadans were literate, devised a system of village schools. Throughout British India, from considered reluctance to infringe on a deeply-rooted aversion to the education of girls, the Government left that field open to private, almost entirely missionary, effort. But both vernacular and Anglo-vernacular instruction received State encouragement ; and when the time arrived for reconsideration of the Company's charter a bolder and wider educational policy was recommended by Dalhousie. On July 19, 1854, Sir Charles Wood, President of the Board of Control, addressed a despatch to India through the Court of Directors which initiated a comprehensive scheme. State education must be secular ; but voluntary institutions of all kinds and persuasions were to be assisted by grants-in-aid. Indigenous schools must be improved ; female education must be supported ; study of the classical and vernacular languages must be encouraged, but admittedly English

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\* Duff on ' Indian Missions,' p. 265.

only possessed a sufficiently supple and extended vocabulary for teaching the elements of Western science. The new scheme must include all manner of State and State-aided institutions from the elementary school to the University. The great objective was to break down the barriers of stationary thought which for ages had been so powerfully restrictive, to hold the ancient languages in honour, but freely to assist the people of India to obtain the blessings which flow from useful knowledge and 'might, under Providence, be derived from India's connection with England.' An exhaustive despatch concluded with the reflection that no speedy results could be expected from the adoption of the wide measures prescribed. The outcome must necessarily depend far more on the people themselves than on the Government.

We have no reason to be ashamed of the origins and motives of the policy laid down in 1854. Its results have been admirably described by Mr. Arthur Mayhew. As he says : 'The facts accepted by all justify the broad conclusion that the seed sown in 1835 has produced a crop in some respects far richer, and in others far poorer, than that expected by the sowers, and that the soil has yielded to their treatment fruits for which they would be anxious to disclaim all responsibility.'\* Lord Ronaldshay deals less fully with the subject but is equally illumining. Time fails us to do more than glance at two accusations which have repeatedly been laid against British educational policy. The first is its failure to spread literacy more widely among the masses. But of whom, after all, do the masses mainly consist ? 'If you would visualise India,' writes one of our most notable missionaries to-day,

'remember all the time that eighty-five per cent. of her people are field-workers, digging, planting, tending, reaping the things that God makes to grow. As you cross from one side of India to the other, whirled by an express train for two nights and two days across boundless plains, what you see is not desert. These vast expanses hum with life and industry. But even each two hundred miles, each six hours run does not bring you to a city. It is villages, villages, villages all the way. . . . You throw yourself back in thought to the days of Akbar, and Alexander and Buddha, and you know that they

\* 'The Education of India,' p. 22.

gazed on the very scenes you see, unchanged. Armies have passed, kings have come and gone, empires have risen and fallen, but village India persists immutable, illiterate, and scarcely aware. It is the patriarchal ages lived before your very eyes in this twentieth Christian century.\*

This is the India which, with all her strong fascination, has steadily averted her eyes from the nostrums of educationists and reformers. Her ideas have been somewhat modified by railways and improved communications, by canals, commerce, and by the legal system which came in with the British Raj. But essentially they are the same as they have always been:

‘Here in this mystical India, the deities hover and swarm,  
Like the bees heard in the tree-tops or the gusts of a  
gathering storm.’

Undeterred, however, by the depressing percentages which have resulted from much expenditure of money and years of steady effort, animated by the spirit of a true crusader, Mr. Brayne, a Civil Servant of some years’ standing, who served in Palestine with an Indian cavalry regiment, proposes to approach the problem in an entirely novel fashion. His book is full of pith and interest; but whether his experiments are workable on a wide scale under present conditions is doubtful.

The next charge to be noticed is the alleged failure of modern education in India to fit the youths who emerge from schools and colleges for industrial, scientific, and commercial pursuits. From Lord Curzon’s time onward, no effort has been spared by the Government to remove all cause for this accusation. But governments can only do their best. The issue here lies with the people themselves. The chief obstacle was frankly defined by a veteran Nationalist in the Imperial Legislative Council on Jan. 28, 1926. It is the caste system and the aversion of the classes who have for generations been engaged in literary or given literary occupations to manual labour of any kind. ‘With most of our people,’ said the speaker, ‘manual labour is regarded as not honourable and mental labour is the only kind of labour which is honourable.’

Finally, we may ask, are the results of British educational policy in India, viewed as a whole, really ‘only a muddle,’ or do they mark a stage in the long, uneven, upward march of mankind? There can be no doubt of the right answer to this question. H. VERNEY LOVETT.

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\* Holland’s ‘Indian Outlook,’ p. 30.

### **Art. 10.—AGRICULTURE IN INDIA.**

THE report of the Linlithgow Commission is the first which has dealt specifically with the agricultural problems of British India, and is for that reason of outstanding importance. The Famine Commission of 1880 did, indeed, lead to a few agricultural appointments under the Central Government and in the provinces, while the Famine Commission of 1901 brought about the creation of agricultural services and the legislation of 1904 in favour of co-operative societies. Their principal subject was not, however, the state of agriculture. The Linlithgow Commission of 1926, which has reported in the current year, was directed to examine 'the present conditions of agricultural and rural economy in British India, and to make recommendations for the improvement of agriculture and to promote the welfare and prosperity of the rural population.' Questions of land tenure and land revenue were expressly excluded from its purview, but the terms of reference cover a wider field of inquiry than any previous Commission, and the labour of the last two years has kept the members fully occupied.

The agricultural question cannot be considered in isolation ; it is an essential part, but only one part, of the problem of Indian rural life. Out of a total population of 330 millions, of which 250 millions are in British India, no less than 90 per cent. live in the rural areas, and 75 per cent. are directly engaged in agricultural pursuits. No industrial development can therefore in the near future alter the main character of India as an agricultural country. This vast rural population is marked by a low standard of living. The Indian village swarms with flies, dogs, and children, a large proportion of the flies being on the children. Infant mortality is high, and an inspection of the water supply, the milch-kine, and the village lanes reveals sufficient reasons. Dust and sewage are inseparable constituents of the air, water, and food. The cattle are weedy and melancholy ; the pasture during many months of the year lies bare. The percentage of literacy in British India is 10 per cent. (males 18 per cent., females 2 per cent.), and in the villages half this figure will be an excessive estimate. Agricultural methods and implements are

primitive, seed is lamentably mixed, and the holding of each cultivator is scattered in little parcels on all sides of the village. Cow-dung, the first and best of manures, is not applied to its natural purpose, but is freely used as fuel. Most remarkable of all, the cultivator accepts his fate as inevitable and contrives to enjoy life. He is certainly 'bored' during slack periods of the year, and resorts to litigation and breaches of the peace. Nevertheless, he is on the whole a cheerful and good-natured individual, and few Englishmen who have worked in the Indian countryside and spoken the language retain other than warm and affectionate feelings for the peasantry.

The Commission have realised that if this apathetic giant is to be wakened, he must be pricked on all sides at once. Hitherto he has been approached by a number of keen officers, agricultural, veterinary, educational, medical, and co-operative, working on parallel lines with inadequate contact; he has listened patiently to each one—'another sahib with a bee in his bonnet about rats and fleas, inoculation of cattle, teaching of children, or an equally wild idea'—and has said to himself with the Somersetshire yokel, 'I've got a cow to milk,' and walked away. In two or three provinces co-operative and agricultural associations have tried to unite the efforts of the various departments, but the only comprehensive attack has been made in the Punjab, where Rural Community Councils and a Central Community Board bring all rural reformers together. In one district a system of trained 'village guides' has been instituted by the Community Council on hopeful lines: the guide is to live in the village, make friends with the peasant, and familiarise him with the teaching of each expert department. Without such a local agent of reform progress is certainly hard and slow. The present writer recollects a village which on his advice procured and sowed an improved variety of spiked millet: the head should be 30 inches long instead of 10 inches. After three years he visited the village again and inquired as to its fate. The new variety had been abandoned as a fraud. By cross-examination it was discovered that in each year the cultivators had sifted and preserved for seed the smallest grains of the shortest heads, precisely because they were good neither for sale nor for food, and had sown these only. The successive crops had, of course, diminished

both in quantity and quality, to the surprise and indignation of the people, until the new millet was no bigger or better than the old !

Co-ordination of departments, more general education of a type adapted to rural surroundings, and the provision of a local adviser may do much to open the mind of the countryman to new ideas. There is, however, another great obstacle to be surmounted. He is in debt to the money-lender. The debt is in many cases inherited from his father and will probably be bequeathed to his son. It tends to grow in amount, and the illiterate debtor cannot follow the calculations which bring out the annual balance, to be acknowledged and signed by him in his creditor's ledger. He hands over his crops to the same grain-dealing money-lender, and buys from him his seed, his food, and often his cattle. The price of sale and of purchase is beyond his control. Indebtedness is his normal condition, and he *sees no hope of a change*. Why, therefore, should he produce more from his land or practise thrift ? His creditor will not let him die, but keeps him alive to pay compound interest. Whatever the land produces passes into the hands of the creditor and cannot overtake the mounting debt. 'Such is my fate, and it is God's will. Let us talk of other things—my son's marriage or my enemy's lawsuit.' And understanding this, the Commission record their belief that 'the greatest hope for the salvation of the rural masses from their crushing burden of debt rests in the growth and spread of a healthy and well-organised co-operative movement based upon the careful education and systematic training of the villagers.

The final battle will only be won by (1) the close union of the teachers, (2) the general enlightenment of the peasant, (3) the provision of teaching *in the villages*. Meanwhile the Commission is required to develop better agriculture. Something has been done by the exiguous agricultural departments, Imperial and Provincial, which have been formed in the last thirty years. Very moderately staffed, and none too highly paid, they have conferred great benefits on British India. Out of 226 million acres under cultivation, 9 million acres (4 per cent.) are sown with improved varieties of seed, principally cotton and wheat ; and the Agricultural Adviser to the Government of India in his annual review for 1926-27 estimates

the additional value of the crops from this seed at  $10\frac{1}{2}$  crores of rupees (7,750,000*l.*) per annum. All credit is due to brave and skilful men, but they are too few, and progress is uphill. To some extent, too, their methods are found by the Commission to be defective. There has, in the first place, been overlapping in research, due to the transfer of agriculture to the provincial governments under the reformed constitution, and the Imperial Research Institute at Pusa in Bengal has lacked the power to restrain this waste of energy and the financial means to lead and inspire the research students of the entire country. The expenditure of the Imperial and Provincial departments of agriculture is 1 crore (750,000*l.*) per annum, or three farthings per cultivated acre. The agricultural expenditure of the United States of America, at  $6\frac{1}{2}d.$  per acre, is nine times that of British India; and without attempting to estimate the cost of their proposals or to devise means of meeting it, the Commission press for recruitment of more first-class men for research duty, from India or from other countries, for a development of the administrative agricultural services, and for the provision of adequate pay which will attract and retain men of high standard. The improvement of agriculture is a matter of scientific inquiry and wise demonstration. Agricultural engineers, statisticians, chemists, and other experts are required, while the heads of agricultural departments and of colleges must be selected men with special emoluments. Emphasis is wisely laid on the need for administrative qualities in the latter. To employ a technical expert on administrative duties is *prima facie* wasteful, and will also prove unsuccessful from a 'service' point of view if he lacks the administrative temperament. The permanent research staff of the Pusa Institute is to be reinforced by provincial men deputed for a term of years, and is frequently to visit the provinces; but it is at this point that the machinery may become clogged. For the report is prudently silent on the reluctance which may be shown by provincial authorities to surrender their best officers, and on the alleged tendency of central secretariats to prefer a sedentary to a touring life. These dangers may perhaps be overcome by the Central Agricultural Research Board and the provincial research committees which are to be set up. If well manned and generously financed, such bodies

should exert an educative and compelling influence in favour of an active and national policy, but in Indian questions finance is only too often the crux.

The second criticism, very temperately expressed in the report, on present methods relates to the demonstration of what has been discovered and fully proved. Agricultural experts in India have used a wise caution in recommending nothing to the peasant until they are certain of its success. A slight failure of a plant variety to breed true, a little maladjustment of a part in a new plough, may destroy the confidence of the public for a generation. Yet when certainty has been attained, demonstration must be freely carried out in the village, and on the cultivator's own land rather than on departmental farms. Further, the employment of the peasant himself as the cultivator of a demonstration plot is, in the words of the Commission, 'more calculated to leave a lasting impression on the individual' than the work of a departmental servant. The farmer, not only in India, is conservative and suspicious, and he has good reason. For lack of scientific knowledge or of detailed information he has erred in the use of a new implement or the cultivation of a new variety, and has suffered loss. He may admit his error, but he has lost his crop. In India he suspects also that the strength of the cattle, the abundance of water for irrigation, or one of a thousand other things may be just so far different on the land on which the departmental tests were made as to vitiate the entire analogy; and he may be right. This consideration has led in one province to the formation of co-operative Better Farming Societies, with the quite correct idea that if a number of men in a village pledge themselves to adopt a specified variety or method on their own holdings, an agricultural expert can spare them more time for instruction on the spot than he could devote to an isolated individual. Where such societies cannot yet be organised the Commission approve of joint co-operative and agricultural associations, and recommend that 'the agricultural departments should make far greater use of co-operative credit societies than they are now doing.'

In two debated matters the Commission endorse the policy of the agricultural officers. The improvement by breeding and selection of indigenous plant varieties is

preferred to the naturalisation of, or to cross-breeding with, foreign types; and a careful inquiry into the productive value of manures, other than dung, is prescribed, without embarking on a general and expensive campaign of soil analysis. In the former case their view will be generally accepted: selection has been successful beyond expectation, while imported plants bring new risks with them. The value of manures other than dung would, however, be sharply altered and the results of research rendered almost useless, if at any future time the consumption of dung as fuel were abandoned. Such a change is not inconceivable. Two centuries ago dung-fuel was commonly burned in the English country, but was replaced by wood when the advance of agricultural knowledge enhanced the value of natural manure in the fields. Now wood is available in many parts of southern and central India, and though it is scarce in the northern plains, a system of village plantations under communal or co-operative management may be practicable. State management of such plantations raises difficulties. An inquiry made by the present writer in thirty villages surrounding a Government plantation appeared to show that the villagers would gladly buy wood-fuel, offered at a moderate price by the forest officers, if the intervention of petty subordinates could be removed. Manorial research as advised by the Commission is desirable, but the substitution of wood for dung-fuel would free a great reserve of wealth for the farmer's lands and upset their conclusions. The Commission are not sanguine of solving this puzzle, and it is true that the peasant woman loves a slow fire on which her milk can be left to simmer, but the position was presumably the same in England two hundred years ago.

On two other thorny subjects—elevators and the sale of water by volume—a firm opinion is given. Despite the popularity of elevators in North America and in South Africa, their construction is thought to be inadvisable. The cost would not be less than a million pounds, which for lack of private enterprise must be provided by Government; and the demand in Europe for Indian wheat will still remain seasonal. Further, the prejudices of the small cultivator against the pooling of his produce, which a system of elevators will necessitate, are deeply rooted and formidable. Strong as are these arguments, it may fairly

be observed that (1) an elevator system does not claim to alter the seasonal character of a demand, but to steady the flow of supply during that season, and (2) the prejudices of the peasant have alarmed many Indian reformers and Commissions, but have been overcome when he realised that an innovation was really convenient or profitable. Co-operative credit, photographs of pious Muslims, and the use of common railway carriages by high-caste Hindus are cases in point. The sale of irrigation water by volume will be welcomed, if it can be introduced, both by Government and by the cultivator. Unfortunately, it is less acceptable to the minor officials, who derive dignity, if no more, from the assessment of each irrigated field, and successive attempts to agree on a schedule of rates and an accurate measure of supply by volume have failed to surmount the objections which seemed to arise. A group of cultivators once offered 50 per cent. above their present total of annual payment if sale by volume could be granted in place of field measurement, but cordial help from high irrigation officers led to no final sanction. Well-wishers of the cultivator will rejoice to hear the opinion of the Commission that in order to secure an economy of water and to relieve the cultivator from harassment further experiments in volumetric supply should be made.

There are two sides to the question of cattle: the medical, which concerns the veterinary services and all diseases of livestock, and the agricultural, which covers breeding, dairying, and the work of animals in the field. The veterinary service, which in certain cases has hitherto been subordinate to the agricultural department, is now to be placed on an independent footing in each province under its own Director and is to be greatly enlarged. The existing number of dispensaries for 25 millions of cattle (not including other stock) in Bengal is 47, and for 6½ millions in Burma no more than 5. Even the Punjab, which with 219 dispensaries for 15 millions surpasses all other provinces, is none too liberally equipped. The Commission propose to quadruple the strength of veterinary surgeons in British India, and while admitting that the expert advice then available 'to those accustomed to the standard of western countries may well appear to be quite inadequate,' are content to leave a further increase to the next inquiry into Indian agriculture. The Imperial

Veterinary Institute at Muktesar is to be maintained at full strength for research, and questions of major importance will be dealt with by a veterinary committee of the Central Agricultural Research Council under the Animal Husbandry representative on that body.

The gravity of the situation as regards the breeding, the food supply, and the productive quality of Indian cattle is not under-estimated by the Linlithgow Commission. The numbers are in the first place excessive : a total of 151 millions gives 67 head on 100 sown acres, whereas an Egyptian province (Gharbieh) of similar conditions supports only 25. The Indian pastures are consequently overstocked, and a medley of reasons are quoted as given by witnesses to account for the surplus. The two most obvious are perhaps the religious objection of the Hindu to the slaughter of the cow and the demand for dung as fuel and manure. The sanctity of the cow (and, in a lesser degree, of the ox and bull) is not diminished by the worthlessness of an individual animal, and weak as well as strong beasts are scrupulously preserved. It is true that the better cows and oxen receive more care, possibly more food, but all alike range over the common pasture. The Commission do not bring out the natural consequence, which is no doubt present to their minds, that the bigger animal requires more food than the smaller, and when the pasture is unable to support the excessive herd, the best animal is the first to die. There is thus a progressive selection of the unfittest and an elimination of the fit. The only compensation is that the more cattle, the more dung. The veneration of the cow as such reacts unfavourably on the breed in another way. The release of a bull to wander in the streets of a town or among the standing crops of a village is counted by Hindus as an act of virtue, and the virtue is equally great whether the bull has a fine pedigree or is a 'scrub' beast of no value whatever. One such 'Brahmani' bull, exhibited to the public by an indignant District Officer at a fair in the Punjab, stood no more than 3 ft. 6 ins. in height. The efforts of Government to improve the breed by supplying good bulls at the public expense are thus defeated by worthy citizens who diligently release bad bulls ; and no remedy for the evil has been devised which will be effective in face of religious feeling. Expert officers for livestock improvement

ment are to be appointed in each province, and a representative of Animal Husbandry will hold a special place on the Central Agricultural Research Board. Research in dairying being transferred from Bangalore to the Imperial Institute at Pusa, and cattle breeding, with instruction in dairying, to the provincial agricultural colleges, the Bangalore Institute of Animal Husbandry is to become the Institute of Animal Nutrition, an Institute of Human Nutrition under the Public Health authorities being created in the same place. This collocation of the two Institutes will strike an observer as original and particularly long-sighted, but dairy students will lose the opportunity of studying in one place the diverse breeds of Indian cattle which have been collected for their benefit at Bangalore. No provincial college is likely to maintain so large and varied a stock of animals or to enjoy so wide an experience as the Imperial Institute.

In pronouncing against the 'dual-purpose' animal the Commission run counter to the ideas of many expert breeders in India. The meaning of the term must be grasped. Dual-purpose in Europe connotes beef in the male and milk in the female animal, but in India muscle in the male and milk in the female. In this difference lies the root of the difficulty, since beef and milk are on the whole more easily associated in the breed than are milk and muscle. From this has ensued the highly uneconomic consequence that India tends more and more to maintain oxen for draught, neglecting the milk of the cow, and the female buffalo for milk, using the male for light duties only. For draught purposes the ox is more powerful and more enduring of heat than the male buffalo, while the milk of the female buffalo is richer and more abundant than that of the cow. Cattle-breeders have sought to economise by producing a type which will combine the strength of the Haryana or the Dhanni breeds in the ox with the milk of the Montgomery or Sindhi in the cow, but while conceding that this policy may be continued in special areas, the Commission state that 'the paramount need of India is the cultivator's bullock'; and again, 'the attempt to provide dual-purpose cattle should only be made in those districts in which the prospects for successful milk production are markedly better than, on the average, they now are.' It is to be feared that discussion will be

stimulated rather than ended by this pronouncement. It condones the waste involved in the keeping of a separate breed (whether buffalo or specialised cow) for milking, and throws the cities, which must import milk, into the hands of professional *gvalas* or dairymen, who are in India an unsatisfactory and apparently incorrigible class. Only such professionals can afford to keep a distinct breed of milch-kine, and the cost of milk is raised by the loss on the useless male animals. If the ordinary cultivator's cow could supply milk to the cities or oxen to the fields, the urban supply should be cheaper and cleaner. As pointed out by the Commission, a splendid victory has been won in Calcutta by the Co-operative Milk Union, so far as milk is concerned, but the low-grade males of the milch-kine which supply this Union perhaps escaped their notice because practically all oxen in Bengal are feeble. The economic loss on the males has not been prevented, and a dual-purpose animal would lower the cost of the milk. The opinion of the Commission is, however, clear. 'We are impressed with the difficulties confronting the breeder, and we are anxious that dual aims should not complicate his task.' Their view will carry great weight. The magnitude of the breeder's task will appear from the returns of milk-output, quoted in paragraph 199 of the report. Out of 1500 cows on military dairy-farms, recorded and selected for 12 years, only 10 per cent. now give 6000 lbs. of milk; and though the Agricultural Adviser mentions in his report for 1927 a Bangalore cow which has yielded 140,000 lbs. on 16 calvings and 12,000 lbs. in her best lactation, these figures will not dazzle European breeders, and it may confidently be asserted that the average yield of all Indian cows in milk on any given day does not amount to 1 lb. per head.

Reference has been made above to the belief expressed in this report that co-operative credit offers the greatest hope of relieving the cultivator from his burden of debt, and to the recommendation that the agricultural departments make fuller use of the co-operative agency. If these ends are to be attained, the persons ultimately responsible for the guidance of the co-operative movement must, in a land of illiterate peasantry, be competent whole-time officers, and some at least of them must be servants of Government. Honorary workers are valuable, but can

spare only a portion of their leisure. The Indian peasant cannot, like the Dutchman or the Dane, be approached by pamphlet or letter ; he must be taught by word of mouth, and such information as is needed from him can be collected only by a personal visit. The Registrars and their superior staff should therefore be fully trained, and will find it impossible to confine themselves to the minimum of 'legal' duties imposed on them by the Co-operative Societies Act. Their work must extend to general supervision of the societies. Co-operation is not only an agency or a method of business, it includes also a mental attitude and a moral ideal without which its hold on the Oriental peasant will not be lasting. The staff, therefore, which supervises the societies, instructs the members in the keeping of the accounts, and reports on their condition must be skilled and trained as well as enthusiastic. Where disasters have occurred—and they *have* occurred—in Indian Co-operation, they have been due chiefly to the employment of untrained or selfish workers ; and the Commission agree with this view, as expressed by the Oakden Committee, which examined the sad plight of Co-operation in the United Provinces.

The credit society takes the first place among the means for improving the status of the cultivator. Further help can be given by societies for the purchase of pure seed and other requirements, and by the sale societies or commission shops which will dispose of his produce. The appointment of special marketing officers in the agricultural department is recommended, who will study marketing questions and will collaborate with the societies of co-operative sale. They will take part in the establishment and control of regulated markets on the Berar system, where weighbridges and arbitrators will check the irregularities of the less upright dealers. A study of marketing conditions will also be one of the duties of the Board of Economic Inquiry which the Commission wish to set up in each province on the model of the Board operating in the Punjab. India is an enormous country of very diverse climates and races, and the lack of genuine first-hand information, especially with regard to rural economics, is a serious handicap in legislation or other action for its welfare.

Another sphere of co-operative activity indicated by

the report is the consolidation and repartition of fragmented holdings. Time, labour, and temper are lost by cultivating fifty tiny patches of land in different directions ; if the holding is brought together in one or two places, the cultivator can sink a well in his own fields, or produce more from his land. On a purely voluntary method 300 villages in the Punjab have consolidated 100,000 acres in a few years under the guidance of co-operators, and though a more complicated land-tenure may delay progress elsewhere and render legislative compulsion necessary, persuasion should be used to the last possible moment. The writer recollects a village in which the repartition of 500 acres, held by nearly 100 persons, was defeated by a stubborn owner of a few poles who refused to move ; but such cases will not be common if the partitioning staff is honest and impartial.

Land mortgage banks, again, should in the opinion of the Commission be co-operative ; the Egyptian plan of a semi-capitalist Agricultural Bank, towards which the borrower feels no responsibility, is unsuited to farmers of small or moderate estate. Banks of co-operative mortgage have been experimentally founded in Madras and the Punjab, but have yet to be proved. In the latter province the Alienation of Land Act provides that the land of an agriculturist may not be mortgaged to a non-agriculturist (such as a mortgage bank) for more than twenty years, and the fact that in spite of this disability the Punjab banks have gained ground no doubt encourages the Commission in their bold suggestion that mortgages for more than twenty years by agriculturists should be everywhere prohibited. Such a step would provoke violent opposition from usurers, but would confer a real benefit on India.

Education is the basis of progress, and Co-operation is a form of adult education. It trains citizens in self-government and tolerance, and interests them in the prosperity of their neighbours. The committee under Sir Philip Hartog recently appointed by the Simon Commission to report on education in India with a view to a further constitutional advance will find the mind of the countryman most enlightened and open where the principles of Co-operation have been truly grasped. Rural education should not, however, draw the abler pupils from the country to the towns, and the Linlithgow Commission

commend the policy of attaching small farms to the rural secondary schools, preferring this plan to the creation of special schools for agricultural children. The support given to adult education by co-operative adult schools and to juvenile education by co-operative societies of compulsory education is favourably mentioned. An amusing suggestion is made that in order to compare the fortunes of the children of literate and illiterate mothers in rural areas, literacy should be specially imparted to a group of selected young mothers. The educator will not find his road smooth.

An examination of the Linlithgow report cannot conclude without commenting on the remarks of the Commission on population : 'No lasting improvement in the standard of living of the great mass of the population can possibly be attained if every enhancement in the purchasing power of the cultivator is to be followed by a proportionate increase in the population.' Ever greater pressure on the soil and fragmentation of holdings will counteract all that agricultural science or rural organisation can do to relieve the peasant, if he insists on multiplying. Hindu religion renders a son very desirable, and all Indian opinion holds sterility contemptible ; but can a reasonable limit to numbers be imposed ? The old custom, especially among Hindus of high caste, was female infanticide, but this is discouraged under British rule. European countries adopt other means of limitation, which, whether desirable or not, appear to be gradually finding favour in India. There is no concealment about the birth control centres in Calcutta and Bombay ; but the rural population is content with less cautious remedies, and the midwife of a northern district who boasts of averting more than one hundred expected births among her neighbours did not give evidence before the Royal Commission.

C. F. STRICKLAND.

NOTE.—As so often, finance is the crux. The Government of India, according to the Indian Press, has now resolved so to amend the recommendations of the Linlithgow Commission as to remove the necessity for legislation. This may mean that the Legislative Assembly will not be asked to create an independent Central Research Council with the three whole-time expert members proposed by the Commission, or to grant the revolving fund of 50 lakhs. Without these it will not be possible to look for rapid progress in agriculture.

## Art. 11.—THE 'BIG NAVY' OF THE UNITED STATES.

HAVING bequeathed to his colleague, Mr Hoover, 'the greatest position in the world,' and seen him sweep the continent as none ever did before, President Coolidge broadcast a significant survey of the post-war America, which he saw 'quickened with new life' and 'awake to the drum-beats of a new destiny.' In this address were set out efforts which had 'contributed the indispensable factor to the final Victory': these included 10,000,000 men, either under arms or in reserve, as well as food and supplies which 'delivered Europe from starvation and ruin.... Our final cost will run toward \$100,000,000,000, or half the entire wealth of the country when we entered the conflict.' Yet in spite of all this—the Chief Executive told his people—'it is plain that Europe and the United States are lacking in mutual understanding.' If the older nations, he went on, would but study America's history—and especially find out where we believe our real interests to lie, much which they now appear to find obscure would be quite apparent.' These remarks led up to that 'passion for Peace' which all American leaders have professed, from Thomas Jefferson in Napoleon's day to Mr Hoover's in our own. And not only on moral grounds is Peace ensued, but also because 'War would interfere with our progress,' since America now has 'interests all over the earth.' Hence the supreme importance of the Kellogg-Briand Pact, which has pledged sixty nations 'to adjust disputes without recourse to force,' and will prove 'the most effective instrument for Peace that was ever devised.'

But in this same *exposé des motifs*, Mr Coolidge pointed out that while this Pact is 'the best that mortal man can do,' he is under no illusions about 'an absolute guarantee against War... so long as promises can be broken, and Treaties violated.' The world must face facts, since 'reason and conscience are as yet by no means supreme: the forces of Evil are exceedingly powerful.' Therefore, a 'reasonable preparation for defence' is the obvious course; and the nation which adopts it is 'less likely to be subject to a hostile attack, and less likely to suffer a violation of its rights which might lead to War.' In fine, the President spoke for both political parties

when he urged America's need 'to maintain an adequate Army and Navy.'

No large land force is called for in a vast continent which has no frontiers in the European sense, and whose ocean 'moats' are 3000 miles wide on the one side and 6000 miles on the other. 'But when we turn to the sea,' Mr Coolidge asserts, 'the situation is different.' Their coast-line is very long. There are distant possessions; 'a foreign commerce unsurpassed in importance and foreign investments unsurpassed in amount.' And apart from a population of 120,000,000 people and national treasure untold, 'we are also bound to defend the Panama Canal.' Moreover, 'having few fuelling-stations, we require ships of large tonnage. And having scarcely any merchant vessels capable of mounting 5-in. and 6-in. guns, it is obvious that, based on position, we are entitled to a larger number of warships than a nation having these advantages.'

Here Mr Coolidge recalled the Washington Conference of 1921-22, when America made 'the heaviest sacrifice.' He also complained 'that foreign Governments made agreements limiting that class of combatant vessels in which we were superior, but refused limitation to the class in which they were superior.' He gave figures to show that Britain would soon be twenty-eight cruisers ahead of the United States. As for the fiasco at Geneva, 'no agreement was made,' because Britain's proposals loomed in American eyes as 'not a limitation, but an extension of war-fleets.' 'Since that time,' the President was sorry to say, 'no progress seems to have been made; in fact, the movements have been discouraging.' As for the ill-fated Anglo-French Compromise—'We, of course, refused to accept this offer. Had we not done so, the French Army and the British Navy would be so nearly unlimited, that the principle of limitation would be virtually abandoned.'

Now this swan-song of the Coolidge Administration deserves attention because it also embodies, at least in part, the policy of his successor, as well as that of the General Navy Board of technicians who advise the Chief Executive in his constitutional capacity as Commander-in-Chief. It is well to remember that in a campaign which won forty out of the forty-eight Sovereign States—even

shattering the 'Solid South,' and with the 'wondrous wave of Prosperity' dwarfing foreign affairs—Mr Hoover went out of his way to stress the naval issue. 'We must feel secure,' he declared, 'from even the fear of invasion.' Therefore: 'We must and shall maintain our naval defence and our Merchant Marine, in the strength and efficiency which will yield to us at all times the primary assurance of national safety.'

It is clear from this and much other evidence that the United States, despite her unique immunity and tradition, is very far from adopting the rôle of that 'eunuch nation,' which scoffers of the Berlin *Kriegsamt* used to call for as the first real token of a world-Disarmament. On the contrary, the present *idée fixe* is America's 'Great Wall' of ships and guns instead of the 'paper-Fleet' which I shall presently show in tumultuous action over there. This 'Great Wall' is, of course, the 'Big Stick' of Theodore Roosevelt, re-christened by President Harding out of deference to the nineteen Iberian Republics who were afraid of it, and said so plainly. Did not the Washington Navy Board, under Coolidge, set out its official purpose: 'To create, maintain, and operate a Navy Second To None'?

This aim was upheld at Geneva by Admiral Hilary Jones, one of the three senior officers advising the American Delegation. Questioned later on by the House Committee on Naval Affairs, Admiral Jones said that other Powers should realise the intention of the United States to possess a fighting Fleet 'equal to the best.' It was with this in view that Mr Curtis Wilbur, as 'First Lord,' brought forward a constructive programme for which \$740,000,000 was asked. At the same time this Minister told Congress he hoped that even this large vote would be expanded to no less than \$2,500,000,000, so as to ensure the complete 'rounding out' of their battle-Fleet as a homogeneous unit. For this, the Naval Secretary considered, was long overdue. Had not Woodrow Wilson, so far back as 1914, told his people: 'We must be strong upon the seas'? A programme of 156 new warships was then projected; and for these \$538,270,000 was voted, with a further vote of \$434,666,000 added to it in view of the rise in labour and materials.

Hearing this, the Democrats were aghast. Even Mr Hoover—no party-man at that time—denounced ‘this riot of warships’ as ‘one of the most amazing failures of the statesmanship of our day.’ Demands in the Senate arose for ‘a naval holiday’ among the nations: the Treasury was torn with conflicting counsel from the pacifists and churches on the one hand, and on the other from the Navy League and National Security clubs, reinforced by Admirals Mayo, Benson, and Sowden Sims. That billion-dollar programme of President Wilson was shelved on account of the Great War. As for the Coolidge-Wilbur project, its fate was set out in the Press together with the Government’s amazement at the storm which it raised. Said the Philadelphia ‘Record’: ‘*Vox populi* has torpedoed the \$740,000,000 naval project fairly amidships !’

The Halls of Congress were soon invaded by more or less powerful ‘lobbies.’ These represented the Church Peace Union and the World Alliance for International Friendship, the Presbyterian Board, the All-America Anti-Imperialist Alliance, the National Council for the Prevention of War, and many other similar bodies. Pulling the other way were the aristocratic Daughters of the Revolution and the Loyal Legion, with Senator King of Utah demanding what ‘impending aggression’ or ‘national emergency’ could justify so vast a Fleet? The mortified First Lord—Mr. Curtis Wilbur—added unconscious humour to the fray by his plea that ‘the women of America spent more than twice this \$740,000,000 on their cosmetics in a single year’! And were there not times when ‘gunpowder was more valuable than face powder’? To which the wags of the Press replied that ‘the women won greater victories than any Navy was likely to gain’! So the battle raged. Afar off, on the Pacific Slope the Seattle ‘Times’ was soon noting that ‘the Administration has agreed to a cut of \$300,000,000 in the Bill, even before the fight in Congress begins.’ And down South the cartoonist of the Louisville ‘Courier-Journal’ showed a battered dreadnought, which he called the ‘Billion-Dollar Program,’ drifting on to the black ominous crags of ‘Public Disapproval’!

But when all was said, the Seventieth (and last) Congress of President Coolidge was left with two in-

congruous measures which could hardly dispel the 'mis-understanding' in Europe which he deplored. I refer to the Kellogg Peace-Pact for the Renunciation of War, and with it formidable additions to the fighting Fleet of the United States. Desiring more light on this last, members of the House Committee asked Admiral Hilary Jones whether it might not be well to postpone these new cruisers, and other craft, until after the 1931 Naval Conference, when further important units might have to be scrapped? Replying for the Navy Board, this high officer feared that such a course 'would just put us behind the procession.'

It may, therefore, be well if I set out the Big Navy's case as it is viewed by the five national forces concerned in it, to the exclusion of all other opinions. For it is clear that confusion reigns in that New World Temple of Peace, as it did in Jove's whispering-place as Lucian shows it, with one devotee begging a favour which his neighbour could only regard as a positive curse.

What are the five factors in this Big Navy? First comes the Chief Executive, a man vested with more power than any Tsar or Caliph ever possessed. He is, in fact, King and Prime Minister in control of Parliament; his Cabinet Ministers are little more than clerks, with no seat in Congress and responsible to him alone. The President is also Commander-in-Chief of both the fighting Services: nothing in the Constitution prevents him from taking active command by sea and land. He is Foreign Minister, too, as well as Chancellor, Party Leader, and supreme ruler at home and abroad. Nor is it a mere 'country' which this elected citizen rules so absolutely. It is a huge sub-continent of enormous riches, both natural and acquired. There are many climates, as well as 'climates of opinion,' which have subtle effects upon the soul-state of their inhabitants. Many of the Sovereign States are far larger than England. Montana is more than twice as large, California about three times; and Texas has nearly four times the area of England. So that the political education of 120,000,000 people of every known race and colour, scattered throughout these forty-eight Commonwealths (each with its own Parliament and laws), must needs be a slow and patient process.

All sorts of ingenious agencies are now enlisted to

show the masses where their interests lie, and how their leaders are striving to uphold them. One of these is the unique newspaper known as the 'United States Daily.' This was founded 'to spread the facts of Government' without any editorial bias or comment. And among the founders were such men as Colonel House, James W. Gerard, Charles E. Hughes, Robert Lansing, Otto Kahn, and many others of equal eminence. This 'Daily' is issued in Washington; it is an able journal, and carries little or no paid advertising. I mention these facts to show how peculiar are politico-social conditions in a vast land, which Europeans are all too prone to judge as a compact entity, like one of their own.

After the President, I would name the advisory Board of eight technicians who, with their aides and sub-Bureaux, constitute the U.S. Admiralty. This Board decides on Policy and Construction; on Fleet Training, Navigation, and Personnel; Yards and Docks, Engineering, Gunnery, and so on. The Board does not court publicity: though such experts as Admiral Charles Hughes, Chief of Operations, or Rear-Admiral W. A. Moffett, of Naval Aeronautics, may attend the House Committee and answer any questions which Members may put.

When important Bills are toward, the Big Navy group gets busy under such zealots as Representatives F. A. Britten of Illinois and McAndrew of Massachusetts. It is then that one hears of a new Navy Board 'push' for \$1,000,000,000. This is the figure for 'adequate security,' according to the Chief of Operations. Some 21,000 officers and men, he claimed, are needed for twenty-five new cruisers, and thousands of hands for fleets of 'planes, with mother-ships to carry them. More shipyards and bases at home and abroad. The elevation of guns upon existing ships, so as to increase the range of guns. More destroyers and leaders; big submarines, Zeppelins, and the rest, all spread over a term of years, with the total cost reckoned up to \$7,000,000,000. Rallying to this vast plan come 'lobbies' from the vested interests—steel, armaments, explosives, engineering, and motors—even lobbies that speak for towns and private yards which have expectations of their own.

Next to the President's experts, the Federal Congress figures as the third party. Both Houses have Naval

Committees; both have their own prerogatives. Those of the Senate are often in conflict with the autocratic powers of the President—though the odds are in the latter's favour, the tragedy of Wilson notwithstanding. Senators and Congressmen, however, are always liable to 'hear from home' in terms of praise or blame. On Big Navy days, Members dread the long-distance telephone-booths, and the army of messengers who assail them with billets hortatory or minatory. Letters, telegrams, radio—the deluge is often devastating, to say nothing of special trains and headlong delegations (the women are especially dreaded) pouring from constituencies far and near into one of the most beautiful railway-stations in the world.

The fourth factor is the daily Press, supplemented by weekly and monthly magazines throughout a continent so immense, that even the biggest circulations (those of the Atlantic and Mid-West States) can be no more than regional. Thus Park Row in New York City is farther from Market Street, San Francisco, than is Fleet Street from the Grande Rue de Péra in Constantinople. America's Press, as we all know, has wealth, energy, and enterprise beyond any other. It will stop at nothing, either at home or abroad, to get exclusive news—even cabling to Kings in pre-War days for an article, whereof the word-rate was to be 'at His Majesty's pleasure'!

Daily papers are here counted in thousands. In Navy matters they are inspired by the General Board; by the National Security and Navy Leagues, or similar bodies, and by Service officers afloat and shore, whose zeal for reforms have often cost them their rank or their job. Irresponsible scares and 'stunts' are pretty frequent. Thus the furtive elevation of our own Navy's guns was alleged soon after the Washington Conference. And after the Geneva fiasco came 'Britain's Secret Treaty with Japan.' These *canards* are duly exposed by the State Department. But they serve a turn; and they do lend colour to the warnings of zealots like Mr Britten of Illinois, to whom all European diplomacy is 'the soul of trickery.' Like Congress itself, the Press is swayed by the Sovereign People: these I present as Factor No. 5, and the arbiters of all, according to the U.S. Constitution. So is America's stage set for the clash and clangour over

a Big Navy in a vast, inchoate land where martial traditions have never flourished.

But if these five factors are not yet in accord, a vague malaise is common to them all. This is due to enormous riches, both natural and acquired, whose figures no mind can grasp, and to that tidal bore of Prosperity which swept Mr Hoover into the White House, with very little effort on the part of that right able man. Long ago Grover Cleveland's 'Full Dinner-Pail' was contemned as a shabby offering to millions whose standard of life is unbelievably high. To-day it is a 'Full Gasoline-Tank' which the American workman demands, as he drives 'Mom' and 'the kids' in a smart Ford car along national highways three thousand miles long. 'Chickens in every pot' are now called for in a continent which is 'in the silk-stocking class,' with Poverty only a name—as Mr Hoover hopes—or a dismal echo from 'mossbacker' nations overseas. For here the plumber and carpenter get a great wage. Coalminers and farmers cut coupons from their own bonds. The comic artist of the Sunday paper runs a string of racehorses; and your stockbroker is glad to pay \$500,000 for a seat on the New York Exchange, where 7,000,000 deals have been registered in a single day of joyous delirium.

Listen to Prosperity's paeon as the Press 'lifts' it: 'Here are our Savings-Banks, fairly bulging with deposits. Our highways are choked with millions of automobiles. Our colleges are turning away thousands of young people who never before had money for a college education. And look at our homes, filled with costly pianos and radio-sets: with phonographs, vacuum-cleaners, porcelain baths, and every electric gadget to save labour and boost the Delight of Life!' No cloud must dim the glow of this colossal agape. So when the first Coolidge-Wilbur naval plan was before Congress, the Washington 'News' and other papers of the Scripps-Howard chain (twenty-six newspapers) saw the Big Navy as: 'Good insurance on a country worth over \$400,000,000,000, and our foreign investments worth \$50,000,000,000 more!' . . . 'Our Navy is a police force—and we must have a big one!' was how a great journal of the Middle West (the 'Plain Dealer,' of Cleveland, O.) put the case to its readers.

The Chicago 'Tribune' went into details, drawing no

bow at a venture, but registering a bull's-eye on the target with obvious inspiration from 'the men higher up.' 'We were caught unprepared in 1915-16,' said that influential organ. 'We must never be so taken unaware again. Our rights of Trade and Commerce must never again be so interrupted as they were then—not by Germany alone, but by England as well.' Here were recalled the forcible protests of those Wilson-Lansing Notes over our 'so-called Blockade,' our 'hovering cruisers,' and other measures which were 'so vexatious and uncourteous to the United States.' . . . 'When discussing her favourite theme of protecting herself on the seas'—the 'Tribune' went on—'England forgets to mention that before our entry into the War, British cruisers were denying us the trading rights we have always claimed.' And if any dotting of i's and crossing of t's in this passage were needed, the New York 'World' did it thoroughly. This powerful newspaper dwelt at length upon the thorny problems of 'neutral rights' which in time of war:—

'are so difficult to protect effectively. . . . And realising this fact, many Americans believe we should maintain a Navy substantially equal to Great Britain's—not as an instrument of War, but because the United States may be a neutral in some other European War which may find Britain again a belligerent. And our people are convinced that, in the question of enforcing a blockade, the British Admiralty is bound to listen more respectfully to the protests of a Neutral which possesses a substantial fighting Fleet.'

In this inspired leader of the 'World,' we have the true *raison d'être* of all this agitation. Meanwhile, in the New York 'Times'—the most important of all—Secretary Wilbur himself was setting out the Navy Board's case. And in the same journal, the Democratic Senator King, of Utah, was demolishing it, as calculated 'to arouse suspicion and fear as to the course which we intend to pursue.'

Thus far the laymen, both official and private. It was time the professionals appeared to instruct the Sovereign People, who in turn rule the Parliament and the Press. So Admiral Robinson showed how the Panama Canal—that vital artery between the two oceans—had been 'destroyed' or blocked during the manœuvres of

1926. He was 'pounded to pieces' behind the break-water at Cristobal before he could get more than two of his capital ships in action. Then the Black, or 'enemy,' Fleet landed forces which blew up the great Gatun locks, and the famous waterway was useless. A conference followed, with fifteen admirals giving their views about new defences, or discussing the sea-level Canal through Nicaragua, which was mooted so far back as 1840.

Officers like Captain N. H. Goss explained the Navy's case in popular magazines—especially Mr. Wilbur's seventy-one ship programme, and the limitations imposed by the Washington Treaties which 'forbade our establishing any naval bases, even in our own possessions in the Far East and Aleutian Islands.' Captain Goss dealt with the three-Power ratios, and gave tables showing the relative naval strength of the U.S., Great Britain, and Japan in all types down to submarines:

'which in time of war need well-located bases and harbours of refuge even more than any other craft. It is charged in the Press,' this officer went on, 'that the Navy trumps up war-scares when Congress is sitting and money-votes are to the fore. Our answer is, that we have always known of these urgent needs, but have not until lately secured a hearing. Scant attention has been paid to our counsels until the public itself has become aware of the dangers by reason of the sacrifices which America made at the Washington Conference.'

No naval officer, Captain Goss continued, could agree that the U.S. Fleet was supreme so long as its bases were curtailed, 'and other nations had bases near to the Philippines, and strategic harbours near to and upon the approaches to the Panama Canal. For these reasons, then, our Navy stands on its (Coolidge-Wilbur) platform of authorised and capital-ship strength.' This was in no sense 'a challenge,' but only 'a national insurance of measurable value.' As for limitation, here the crux is the cruiser question, 'since the battleship ratio is settled, and the Conference of 1931 will decide what shall be done when the Agreement expires in 1936.' Here Captain Goss went into the age of cruisers; their gun-power, and how each nation determines its needs according to coast-lines, trade-routes, colonial and other possessions, as well as harbours of all sorts for refuelling and sheltering, with supplies, docking,

and repairs. In this matter, he found that Britain and Japan were fortunate. So 'it is natural to find the British favouring small cruisers; for these are cheaper to build and operate from a network of bases and fuel-stations which cover the whole globe.' On the other hand,

'we not only lack dominions which our cruisers could use, but we have no base in the Pacific except the inadequate Pearl Harbour, in Hawaii. We may not use the Aleutian ports which would shorten the route to the Philippines by nearly 3000 miles. Nor may we use Guam, in the Ladrones, our natural stepping-stone to the Archipelago. Therefore we do need larger cruisers than either the English or the Japanese —who naturally supported each other's claims at Geneva in 1927.'

As for the size of cruiser guns, the limit of these was fixed at 8-in., which is reasonable for vessels of 10,000 tons. 'But,' says Captain Goss, 'another factor enters here, because 6-in. guns may be mounted on merchant vessels to which no limitation can be applied.' So it may well be 'that superior naval strength will automatically pass to the Power possessing the largest merchant marine.' Admiral Moffett showed the need for new marine aircraft, as well as for Zeppelins at \$4,000,000, each, with a radius of 11,000 nautical miles. Captain L. M. Overstreet contends that the cruiser-ratio should be based upon national wealth. 'Using this as a basis, the United States would be allowed as many as all the Great Powers put together!'

Rear-Admiral Luther Gregory and other officers were sent by the Navy Board to survey all bases and stations, at home and abroad, so that Congress and the people might be informed, with special reference to the Pacific, the Hawaiian Isles, and Canal Zone. Admiral Gregory found everything lacking: 'The U.S. naval shore establishment has not a single station which fully meets the requirements of a modern naval base.' Dredging and channel-clearing were needed at Oahu, in Hawaii. Hell Gate, in New York, called for costly works. So did San Francisco and Puget Sound in the Far West, where dry-dock, repair, and supply facilities were defective. Chesapeake Bay, which was best of all, was wanting in destroyer and submarine accommodation. Altogether, some \$400,000,000 should be spent on these bases, and a further \$15,500,000 on

naval air-stations. The former sum might be divided between New York and San Diego : Boston, Key West, Charleston and other centres, as well as the Naval Station on the Great Lakes, the Marine Corps Base at Quantico, the Philadelphia Navy Yard and the Marine Academy at Annapolis, Md. Other repairs and replacements were needed at Guam, as well as in Samoa and at Cavite, P.I., besides new air-ports at Sand Point, Lakehurst (N.J.), and Chatham (Mass.).

But over all this dance of the dollars, actual or projected, ominous voices were heard and well-documented queries raised over alleged 'extravagance' in the existing Navy, and grave defects of administration. These were said to be due to many causes, from an overgrown bureaucracy to political 'pull' which kept in existence costly Navy Yards which were less than useless. Foremost among these critics and reformers was Rear-Admiral T. P. Magruder, Superintendent of Philadelphia Dockyard, and an officer who saw active service during the Great War. Comparing the Fleet that Roosevelt reviewed off the Virginia Capes in 1907 with that which saluted President Coolidge off Cape Henry in 1927, Admiral Magruder found the cost nearly quadrupled—\$82,000,000 as against \$300,000,000. And whereas in 1908 there were only 146 officers on shore duty in Washington, the number had increased to 519 during the Coolidge régime. One rear-admiral's command was made up of 'five tugs and four fuel, supply, and repair ships'! And each flag-officer (there are 55 on the active list) had a staff up to 18 ; also a band, barge-crew, servants, clerks, orderlies, and extra radio and signal men. Each staff in turn needed boats'-crews and yeomen-typists—with no less than 62 machines allotted to the big aircraft-carrier 'Saratoga,' which cost over \$40,000,000. In the Naval Medical School, Admiral Magruder found 24 officers who had only 16 pupils between them all ! He himself tried to initiate economy, 'but inertia and conservatism' baffled all attempts.

The cost of Navy Yards and stations had risen from \$17,500,000 in 1908 to \$80,000,000 in 1926. The seven Yards on the East Coast, Admiral Magruder claims, could easily be cut down to three or four, since the main Fleet has for years been based on the Pacific. 'Once I asked a high official of our Navy Department why this waste

was allowed to go on? His reply was that any effort to reduce the number of Atlantic Yards "met with strong political opposition." One of these establishments had under repair during the fiscal year 'just one tug'! And for every dollar spent in repairs, this reforming Admiral counted at least four dollars in 'overhead' charges. An unused floating-dock at New Orleans costs \$30,000 a year to maintain, and may not be moved because an Act of Congress forbids this. And lastly, there were no fewer than 200 modern destroyers, costing \$1,500,000 each, 'laid up and deteriorating for lack of money and men.' These strictures made a great to-do. Service opinion and the Press sided largely with Admiral Magruder; but he was duly disciplined by the President for these revelations. Such officers have the Navy's interests at heart, but find it very hard to get a hearing for their plaints.

'It is the function of the statesmen to define the end,' as Gladstone used to say. 'And that of the specialist to devise the means.' But America's naval specialists have a trying time when it comes to imposing their will. Witness the 'mutinous' moves of Lieutenant Sowden Sims long ago, after he had studied gunnery under Sir Percy Scott. Sims complained over his Admiral's head direct to President Roosevelt in the White House. Everything was wrong—even the architecture of the ships. 'When we launched the "Kentucky,"' Sims wrote, 'we ought to have shed tears over her, instead of breaking a bottle of champagne' (in a 'wetter' age, *bien entendu!*). That vessel and the 'Kearsage' had open turrets and unprotected guns; both types were presently scrapped in a storm of obloquy. After the hulls and armour, Sims next attacked the smokeless powder made at Indian Head (Md.) as the cause of disastrous 'flare-backs' which had often burned the gunners alive. There was no General Staff, no reserve of torpedoes, no adequate docks; poor discipline and casual target-practice. As a naval 'revolutionary,' young Sims found a keen ally in his ex-officio C-in-C. Between them, he and Roosevelt transformed the U.S. Navy which, when engaged with the hapless fleets of Cervera and Montojo at Santiago and Manila 'couldn't hit a damned thing but the water'—according to the testimony of a high officer in the Congressional inquiry.

Up to that war and the opening of the Canal, there was little need for efficiency, since America's wars had been waged against none but Indians, Mexicans, and Spaniards. Dewey's Asiatic Squadron was able to destroy the whole Spanish Fleet under Montojo without losing a single ship or a man! More than that, the American Admiral was able to draw off in the middle of the fight to enable his officers and men to get their breakfast, over on the other side of Manila Bay! In this leisurely interval, Dewey took stock of his shells, and then returned to complete a job which is surely *sui generis* in modern naval annals. Meanwhile, in the Island of Guam, the 'Charleston' opened fire on the shore defences. Whereupon the Spanish hidalgo, in elaborate kit, promptly returned what he thought was a polite call—knowing nothing of any war!—and expressed regret at not being able to return the American's 'salute'—‘because I have no ammunition! ’

These things are writ large in American 'Preparedness.' I once heard ex-President Taft compare America with 'the drunken man whom the Lord looks after when he's in trouble.' This lesson was driven home by Rear-Admiral C. P. Plunkett, Commandant of the Brooklyn Navy Yard, who told his people they were heading for trouble, because they were 'pursuing a competitive trade policy, and intent upon crowding other nations into the background. . . . So long as you dare to contest the control of the sea with your goods, you're going to have war as sure as you're sitting in this room!' As for abiding Peace, Admiral Plunkett scouted the motion of it in the Clausewitz manner: 'There can be no Peace in a world where Activity reigns. You'll only find Peace in the graveyard!' The Press of the entire continent rebuked this 'strutting Admiral.' Then his President read him and his kind a caustic homily upon 'reckless talk.'

Militarism has never yet taken root in the United States. For this reason her war-inventors, from Robert Fulton, of the earliest submarine, down to Hiram Maxim; the Brothers Wright and Colonel Isaac Lewis, have all had to seek support in foreign lands. And when war brought overseas possessions, the new subject races could render little aid. This was seen in the Philippines, where it was hoped to recruit and train skilled men who could

handle the engines and boilers of warships, as well as auxiliary and electrical machinery, torpedoes and guns. To give a lead in this matter, a new American destroyer was named 'Rizal,' after one of the Filipino patriot-heroes. But those Malays of the Archipelago did *not* rise to the occasion; and the U.S. Navy failed to find the assistance upon which its Board had counted. And its officers contrast this failure with the vast volume of help, both mechanical and military, which is at Britain's disposal all over the earth—not only in her great Dominions, but almost in every isle and corner of the seven seas.

The Big Navy Movement—as Mr Hoover reminds us—is inseparable from that of an adequate merchant marine, whether for transport, or as convertible into armed cruisers at will. In this respect America lost her sea-legs after the Civil War, when Confederate raiders worked havoc among the gallant clipper-ships of that day. Thereafter the opening West, with its free lands and easy fortunes, drew men away from the sea; and no policy of subsidies, no efforts of the present Shipping Board, have so far sufficed to put the U.S. merchant service on a sound economic basis. Billions of dollars have been poured out in vain. Ships that cost \$200 a ton to build were got rid of for as little as \$5 and \$10 a ton.

President Coolidge opposed with unwonted warmth a proposal of the Senate Commerce Committee to find yet another \$200,000,000 to build up the U.S. mercantile marine, and keep it in bureaucratic control. Here the 'Wall Street Journal' spoke for the people at large: 'The question is now squarely before us—whether the Government shall continue its losing steamship-business, throwing good money away after bad; or whether it shall quit a sphere of action where it has amply proved its incapacity.' This problem is far from being resolved, though much is hoped from private shipping-enterprise, with subsidy in the form of long-term mail contracts.

But amid all the discords I have shown, the purpose of the Navy Board remains constant: To create a modern battle-fleet and all its auxiliaries—not primarily as an instrument of war, but rather as a corollary of Prosperity and 'Insurance.' Such a weapon, as Mr Wilbur explained to Congress, 'should be strong enough to protect the

rights of citizens under international law, to safeguard our commerce, to preserve the ocean routes and provide for national defence.' And having stressed 'the lack of modern cruisers' as the Navy's 'most serious weakness,' the First Lord went on to point out their secondary rôle : ' "Showing the flag" has a marked effect on our merchants' endeavours. Trade success is influenced by the prestige which smart cruisers of power and speed can create and foster in potential markets of the world.'

It has been a hard fight. But now that the issues are made clearer to the people, the Board have high hopes of success. At the same time, the technicians are well aware that money alone, howsoever lavish in mere construction, cannot achieve that mighty complex of tradition and co-ordinate power to which the Germans aspired in their desperate bid for 'Seeherrschaft' during the Great War. The problems of recruiting and training are especially difficult.

Who would believe that American statesmen—even so recently as 1915–16—have proposed to abolish the Fleet altogether? Their very first warship left Philadelphia in 1775 with Esek Hopkins in command, and the oddest of flags at his main peak ; it was of yellow silk and displayed a lively rattlesnake, with the motto : 'Don't tread on me!' After the Revolution, the Navy disappeared in a cloud of odium. People recalled the Bolshevik crew of the 'Ranger,' who insisted that all moves which that warship made should be put to their general vote! In 1798 a new Fleet was formed to deal with French privateers in the Caribbean Sea. 'In that campaign,' as the American historian says, 'our ships co-operated with the British. So it naturally came about that we borrowed outright the regulations of the British Navy, and with them the British traditions of rank and discipline.'

In 1810, John Randolph of Virginia considered any Navy useless in view of 'Our defensive Atlantic Moat.' Yet that statesman soon saw an enemy landing in Washington itself, and the sacred Capitol in flames! Over a century later, with the greatest War in history raging, President Wilson's old friend and First Lord—Mr Josephus Daniels—was haunted with a similar notion. True, the Fleet was in being : it cost a great deal, and in dying

slowly might be made to serve a sane and useful purpose. So Mr Daniels would turn the Navy into 'a democratic school of character and civics.' Officers and men were now to be 'equal,' with new training in Progress and Peace which should endue them all with his own horror of 'Militarism.' To this end propaganda-photos were taken of captains, seamen, and cooks all arm-in-arm, with the Naval Secretary himself beaming upon them in paternal blessing ! As a background, this idyl had a 12-in. gun with its ugly muzzle blocked up, and a black cat (for luck!) sunning itself on the vast steel barrel as the living emblem of a millennial day !

What the U.S. Admirals said about these pipe-dreams had to be expunged from the 'Congressional Record.' But they did point out that the most awful battle in the sea's annals soon 'busted' that civic school, and forced their pacifist First Lord to face reality, even as *his* Chief had to do in 1917. These fantasies are worth recalling, for they throw light upon curious soul-states which have added to the 'Big Navy' confusion, from Roosevelt's time to Mr Hoover's. Nor is this indecision confined to the civil side ; it extends to the naval architects and technicians. There is conflict between the Admiralty and the Aviation School, with the air-zealots pointing in triumph to the bombing of the old 'Indiana' and other targets as proof that the battleship's day is over, and aircraft now 'on top,' in more ways than one. To this theory the Board replied, and likewise to advocates of the submarine, with lessons from the Battle of Jutland and other sea-phases. 'It is the old war of words over again, like the torpedo against the big ship ; guns against armour and speed against fighting power.' As for aircraft, the Board considers these will for the present continue as mere adjuncts to a well-found Fleet, one that embodies the latest lessons of design and co-ordinate action.

Having little tradition as a guide, and dwelling as they do in a mechanical paradise, experts of the U.S. Admiralty love to experiment in new ways and means, from propulsion to optical instruments and armour-piercing shells. Construction is much slower over there, and far more costly than ours. One hears much in Washington Service circles about the miracles which Lord Fisher wrought in his emergency armada, with submarines

turned out in five months, fast destroyers in nine months, and huge battle-cruisers, mounting 15-in. and 18-in. guns, in less than a year. Great pride was taken in those two huge aircraft-carriers, 'Saratoga' and 'Lexington,' which the Brown-Boveri concern built at South Camden, N.J. These cost no less than \$40,000,000 each, and carry 90 air and sea-planes, with a crew of 2200 artificers. But on their trials the electric drive of these enormous 'platforms' did not give satisfaction. So the new 10,000-ton cruisers are to have an ordinary gear-drive, like so many of our own ships which were scrapped in the 2,000,000-ton dispersal we have ordained since 1918.

I have spoken of the two disparate measures which President Coolidge's 'expiring' Senate faced in the so-called 'Lame Duck Session' of December. These were the World-Pact Renouncing War and a Bill for large additions to America's Fleet at a time when all the nations are intent upon disarming. What lies behind this persistent drive for a Big Navy in the Land of Peace? Is it aggression? No; it is a bargaining asset, a guarantee of America's present and future Prosperity in view of the intensive trade campaign ahead, with Agriculture ousted from its olden pride of place, and Industrialisation planned on a vast scale, even in the ten States of the South—which no longer stand or fall by their cotton-crops.

To-day America throes with economic change, and is intent upon domination of the world's markets. Her new hydro-electric schemes foreshadow mass-production on an unprecedented scale, and for this fresh outlets must be sought abroad. One sign of this was the visit of the President-Elect, even before his Inauguration, to the leading Republics of South America, where already billions of dollars are invested, and billions more in Loans. And it was in the battleship 'Maryland' that Mr Hoover 'showed the Flag,' as the foremost 'drummer' of the United States, and also as a Foreign Minister intent upon 'feeling the pulse' of Latin-America in the critical question of 'sovereignty,' which is bound up in the Monroe Doctrine.

It is the same in China, where the Nationalist Government in Nanking was recognised last July, and special advantages gained by the United States, without any of that 'full and frank communication' to the other eight signatory powers which the Washington Conference

required. It is the same again in Soviet Russia, with whom Mr Clark B. Minor, of the General Electric concern, has just signed a contract for \$26,000,000 worth of machinery and equipment, apart from the deals put through by General Motors and by the Radio and Bethlehem Steel Corporations. In short, from England to Ethiopia, America is preparing to use money-resources which now amount to two-thirds of all the world's—some 56 billions out of 86 billions. She must have rubber for her fabulous output of motor-cars at home and abroad. So Mr Harvey Firestone begins planting a million acres in Liberia; Mr Ford secures a 6,000,000 acre concession in the Brazilian State of Pará. It is the same story with tin in Bolivia, and oil and copper in Venezuela, Chile, and Peru.

And the Big Navy? I have shown it as the instrument of continued Prosperity and due Prestige. But above all, it is to this 'mak' siccar' Article 2 of President Wilson's famous Fourteen Points in Paris: 'Absolute freedom of the seas . . . alike in Peace and War.' It is true that Admiral Mahan, America's classic sea-historian, exposed the heresy of this tenet when the Washington envoys proposed it at the two Hague Conferences. 'It was,' Mahan declared, 'contrary to sound policy and to an acknowledged experience, that the more deadly and extensive in operation the instruments of War, the less frequent and shorter the appeal to arms. The capture of an enemy's property at sea, when in process of commercial exchange, is a weapon of offensive War.' And so it has been used in America's own crises, from Lincoln's blockade of the Confederate ports to McKinley's clash with Spain, Wilson's embargo in Mexico and his belligerent measures in 1917–18.

But, to quote President Coolidge, 'our first duty is to ourselves.' Where America is not a belligerent, she is resolved to go to and fro upon the seas at her own will, without let or hindrance from any nation that may chance to be in conflict with another. This was her policy so far back as 1785, when Franklin, Adams, and Jefferson concluded a Treaty of Amity and Commerce with Prussia: in this it was agreed that private property should not be seized at sea. The 'right of search' and 'continuous voyage' were contributory causes of the senseless war in 1812. And in December 1823, President Monroe once

more set out America's contention that in time of war, as in peace, neutral vessels must be free to come and go at their own discretion.

On the other hand, it is well known that since England wrested supremacy from the Dutch in the sixteenth century she has insisted, as a vital principle, that enemy property, by whomsoever carried, was lawful prize of war if taken on the high seas. And the right of visit and search and seizure was maintained against all. The Declaration of Paris in 1856 brought about a modification : a neutral flag was now to safeguard all enemy property, 'except contraband of war.' This was left undefined, and thereby seeds of future trouble were sown. Next came the Declaration of London in 1909 ; its provisions were tried for two years during the Great War, and then notice was served by the Allies upon neutral Powers that it was virtually abandoned, since the Declaration 'could not stand the strain imposed by the test of rapidly-changing conditions, and tendencies which could not have been foreseen'—such as the indiscriminate sinking of some 8,000,000 tons of shipping by the German submarines.

The United States declined to sign the Declaration of 1856, because it abolished the right of privateering. All aspects of this bristling question were raised in the House of Lords by Lord Wester Wemyss. Lord Balfour and the late Lord Haldane took part in this debate, and Earl Stanhope replied, as Civil Lord of the Admiralty, in an historic survey of the facts. But no statement of the respective conditions and naval needs of Great Britain and the United States has quite the peculiar cogency of that made in the Washington Congress by Representative French, of Idaho, as Chairman of the House Naval Committee.

'The British People,' Mr French explained, 'must depend on the outside world. Their need is for food, materials, and fuel oil. Britain must keep open to her ships the lanes of the sea. To do this, she must have naval bases and swift cruisers of wide radius. In a word, Britain must give heed to reserve supplies in a manner the United States has not to consider. Stop the sea-ways to Britain's ships, and suffering would be brought to her people in a few weeks. Now turn to our own side. We might be cut off from the rest of the world, yet there would be food for our people, fuel oil for our use, material

of all sorts for our service. The seas might be closed to us for weeks—or even for years. Yet we could sustain our people without suffering ; we could produce all the requisites of our active naval needs, so as to protect the dignity and honour of our country.'

The Navy Board points to a coast-line of 8000 miles which it is necessary to defend ; under the responsibilities of the Monroe Doctrine, with its implied hegemony over the whole Hemisphere, this stretches at once to 21,000 miles, with naval bases few and far between. In the Latin Republics quite \$5,000,000,000 of American capital is invested. And in his survey of 'our wondrous wave of Prosperity,' Mr Herbert Hoover points out that : 'Our exports have increased by over a thousand million dollars during the past seven years.' Ninety per cent. of the world's motors are owned by the American people ; in this line alone their exports have reached \$450,000,000 a year, with new intensive 'drives' planned in all directions. And lastly, there are the Allied War Loans which, as refunded, total \$11,000,000,000. It will thus be seen that, as economic *arbiter mundi*, the United States 'has money to burn,' as the exuberant saying is. The pervasion of her influence—financial, political, and even social—in all spheres is marvellous to behold, from Berlin to Buenos Aires, and from Dublin to Tokio and Pekin. And behind the roaring dynamo of Big Business looms the Big Navy, in whose mission as 'insurance-agent' the Sovereign People are being instructed, in order that, as President Monroe said over a century ago, 'they may know the great principles and causes upon which their happiness depends.'

It must not be forgotten how that same Monroe was advised by the great Jefferson to cultivate the closest ties of friendship with Great Britain : 'And nothing would tend to knit our affection more closely than to be found fighting once more side by side in the same cause.' This the two English-speaking Navies did in 1917–18 with the happiest results—as Lord Beatty testified, with Admiral Sowden Sims sitting beside him as an honoured guest in London. The two Fleets had 'worked together and played together.' Even the winter 'amenities' of Scapa Flow could not ruffle the mutual respect, and even

affection which existed between these two great Services in the face of a common enemy. And when 'Uncle Lewis' (Admiral Sir Lewis Bayly), whom the Americans so esteemed and loved, had to leave Queenstown for a while, it was Sowden Sims who hoisted his flag and commanded all vessels on the Western coast, both British and American. Those critical days have left memories of abiding value.

Now a last word about Mr Herbert Hoover as Chief Executive, vested with the plenary powers I have named. Here is a man who has been seven times round the globe; an organiser and administrator of proven capacity, one who has had personal contact with European problems from Belgium to Siberia, and with those of Asia from Singapore to Tientsin—to say nothing of the British Empire, from centre to circumference. Mr Hoover thus has advantages which none of his thirty predecessors have possessed. A profound student of men and affairs (I have known him personally these many years), the new President will begin his reforms at home before turning his square and constant mind to the foreign field. He brings to his high office a sense of consecration. 'My task,' he says, 'is to give the best within me, so as to interpret the common sense and ideals of the American people.'

No lover of the limelight, as Roosevelt was; no dour doctrinaire like Wilson, or a genial nonentity of the Harding type—Herbert Hoover brings to the White House a riper experience, a stronger character, and higher capacity for leadership than any President since Lincoln. He is well aware of the perils implicit in 'national defence,' and in those armaments which a peace-professing world still maintain to the tune of 800,000,000*l.* a year, at the same time studying attack-and-defence problems in all the elements with scientific keenness and devastating efficacy. Hoover's motto is certainly 'America First'—though his campaign opponents alleged his 'European mind' and 'British leanings' as undesirable traits. All other Presidents have used the four-months' interregnum between Election and Inauguration in doling out favours to the 'Faithful' from the 'Pie-Counter' of vulgar tradition. Mr Hoover spent it in 'good-will' visits to the Governments of Latin-America, so as to acquaint

himself in matters of policy and trade. He has all the patience of a dry-fly man in a chalk stream—and fishing is the only hobby of this massive thinker, who has a horror of crowds, with all their mindless tumult and babble.

In this Naval question, little can be decided until the Conference of 1931. Until then President Hoover's concern will most probably be with home affairs, making a complete *katharsis* of the scandals which Warren Harding left to the Republican Party, and insisting that Big Business shall in future—to use his own expressive phrase—be conducted 'with glass pockets' in its relation to politics. But beyond all doubt this conspicuously able man has the Sea Affair in mind. He may well assert himself as ex-officio First Lord—'inter Thalassocratoras princeps'—and that in a manner to surprise us all with his genius for intelligent compromise, apart from rigid efforts at 'parity,' and arithmetical naval 'ratios' for Powers whose needs in this respect are poles apart.

So I look to that apostle of common sense to echo the sentiments of Lincoln when the cotton-spinners of Lancashire tightened their belts in a stern time, and wrote the Emancipator a letter that moved him profoundly. 'I hail this interchange,' Lincoln replied, 'as an augury that whatever else may happen, whatever misfortune may befall your country or my own, the peace and friendship which now exist between the two nations will be—as it shall be my desire to make them—perpetual !'

IGNATIUS PHAYRE.

## Art. 12.—THE RIDDLE OF LORD HALDANE.\*

## PART I

WHEN the subject of this memoir was laid to rest beneath the majestic shadow of the Grampians, among the green undulating hills of Perthshire which he knew and loved so well, the soothsayers of Fleet Street did such a penance as had not been done upon this earth since the Franconian Emperor stood, barefoot and penitent, in the snow in the courtyard of Canossa. ‘A great statesman,’ cried with one voice the unshiven scribes, had passed away. Some thirteen years earlier the greatest intellect that had ever been devoted to the State in our day and generation had been driven forth from our public life by such a cacophony of sound and fury in certain quarters of Fleet Street, by noises so imperfectly orchestrated, so compounded of the dissonances of panic, hate, envy, ignorance, and all uncharitableness, the weary iteration of the same theme broken only by the occasional shriek of one of the instrumentalists, that the first appearance of a jazz band in our ballrooms was not more symptomatic of the mental disorders induced by the war. From the day on which, early in August 1914, a certain newspaper, with a stupendous circulation, put upon the streets one of those placards which play so large a part in the pathology of modern democracy, ‘suggestion’—to wit, a placard with the single supercription ‘Haldane at the War Office !’ †—the hounds of defamation were in full cry. Hundreds, nay thousands, of letters, abusive, hysterical, defamatory, menacing, arrived daily at the House of Lords, directed to Lord Haldane, until, as he told me at the time, three large sacks and a cart had to be requisitioned to transport daily this lamentable freight to his house at Queen Anne’s Gate.

\* The writer of this article desires to express his thanks to the editors of the ‘Times,’ the ‘Daily Telegraph,’ and the ‘Morning Post’ for giving him special facilities for access to the files of those great newspapers for the years before the war. To the librarian of the ‘Times’ he is particularly indebted. He has also to express his warmest thanks to Miss Elizabeth Haldane for placing at his disposal the letter addressed to her, on the death of Lord Haldane, by Professor Einstein.

† This for no better reason than that, as we now know from his Reminiscences, Mr Asquith, on his own initiative, had asked the creator of the British Expeditionary Force to do duty for him at the War Office for a few days before the appointment, with Lord Haldane’s full approval; of Lord Kitchener.

Of the character of those letters—the credulity of some, the malice of others, the stupidity of the rest—the writer of this article had some personal experience. On July 9, 1915, on my return from France, I wrote to a great newspaper which, in a leading article, had administered the *coup de grace* to Lord Haldane—administered it, it is only fair to add, with none of the stupid malignity of its contemporaries—a letter in his defence. The editor, perhaps wisely—for it was too late to do much good—refused to print it. Thereupon it found a home in the hospitable columns of Liberal newspapers.\* From that moment some jets of the copious shower of abuse which had descended upon the head of Lord Haldane were diverted to me. Scores of abusive letters arrived at my chambers in the Temple. ‘You may be a lawyer,’ began one of these epistles, ‘but you must be a fool’—a chastening observation but for the fatuous words which followed it—‘if you do not know that your friend Haldane is a shareholder in Krupps.’ ‘Are you not aware,’ remonstrated another, ‘that Haldane is an illegitimate son of the Kaiser?’ These particular examples of demented credulity I showed to Lord Haldane, remarking of the second that the writer evidently thought the Kaiser an even more precocious Crown Prince than he had ever been. He read it with a tolerant smile and then remarked with dry humour, ‘I think that letter will amuse my mother; let me keep it.’ Such was the imperturbability of the most equable man I have ever known.

But in those dark days there was something more—there was the fortitude of a noble soul. The campaign of proscription did its deadly work. On the formation of the First Coalition, the Conservatives demanded Lord Haldane’s head on a charger, although they had not a single head among them fit to take his place, as the price of their adherence. The price was promptly paid—paid, according to what Lord Morley told me at the time, by Mr Asquith without a murmur, acquiesced in by Haldane’s Liberal colleagues, with the noble exception of Lord Grey, without a sigh. Of that singular transaction I shall say more in its proper place. Something like social ostracism accompanied it. Lord Haldane, who had, with his great

\* The ‘Daily News’ and the ‘Westminster Gazette’ of July 13, 1915.

social charm, his good taste, and his instant accessibility to all those who sought his wisdom or his help in a private extremity, been one of the idols of the *beau monde*, found how worthless is its idolatry, how transient its enthusiasms, and that there is no world whose ingratitude is more base. Worse, far worse, was, as I had found when with the British Expeditionary Force during the first winter of the war, the imprecations of certain officers—they were all of them gunners, for reasons which will presently appear—of the very Army which was as surely his creation as was the Prussian Army that of Scharnhorst and von Roon ; imprecations which found their tragic echo in the distracted letters of widowed wives and of mothers weeping, like Rachel, for their children because they were not. The man who, by years of patient toil, often betrayed by one of his own staff, sometimes opposed by his own colleagues in the Cabinet, had forged the weapon which at that very moment was standing between us and utter annihilation, was crucified. Yet never once during that long agony did he betray one sign of resentment, anger, protest, or scorn. Never once did I hear him utter (and I saw him often) a bitter or reproachful word. In a letter to me of May 26, 1915, written just after his fall, he wrote :

‘ Thank you for your kind letter. *It is best that I should have gone.* To secure national unity is a paramount obligation just now.’

But the heart knoweth its own bitterness, and he was never the same man again.

‘ He saved others,’ his devoted friend General Sir Ian Hamilton has written, ‘ himself he could not save.’ Could not or would not ? Let us consider this. The character of Lord Haldane was at times a riddle to his friends and a stumbling-block to his acquaintances ; it, or rather the misapprehension of it, was often an opportunity to his enemies. I mean, of course, his character in its public manifestations. In his private life it was, as all his friends could depose, one of singular spiritual beauty. Of this I can speak with the knowledge of many years of an intimate and inspiring friendship which began as long ago as the General Election of 1910. After contesting, as Liberal candidate, the Conservative stronghold

of West Edinburgh, I was invited to address, in the company of Miss Haldane, the miners of Tranent in his own constituency of East Lothian. From that time forward there developed a friendship which, ripening with years, grew into something like an intellectual and political adoption. On his elevation to the peerage, he strove to secure for me the reversion of his seat in East Lothian; it was on his initiative and by his persuasion that I ventured to apply for 'silk' at an unusually immature age; almost everything that I wrote and much that I thought was the fruit of his suggestion. No doubt many a man could tell the same tale of one who was nothing if not the tutor of the younger generation. I recall a day with Lord Morley at Wimbledon during the war in which the oracle of Flowermead declaimed against Lord Haldane's public utterances, particularly at Leeds, before the catastrophe. Morley was always impatient of contradiction, and I sat silent during the declamation until I interjected: 'That may be. But look at his kindness of heart!'

'Ah!' was the instant capitulation, 'there you speak truly. When Tweedmouth's affairs went all wrong in the smash of Meux's Brewery, Haldane, whose every hour was taxed with a large practice, sat up night after night trying to unravel the accounts and get things straight. A chartered accountant could not have done more, and he did it for nothing. . . . When Lady —— was dying of cancer, he sat with her during her hours of mortal pain, and no nurse could have been more devoted.'

All through his life, with all its political complexity, there ran this golden thread of private charity and loving ministries. When the dead hand of the law 'fell with a loud slap,' as Maitland put it, upon the living body of the United Free Church, whose case Haldane had argued before the Lords with extraordinary intellectual power and force, and that great Communion found itself, under a strict interpretation of the trust-deeds of a mystical theology, bereft of every manse, every church, and every seminary, Mr Haldane at once gave his fee of a thousand guineas to the Church Emergency Fund. Needless to say Lord Haldane never told me that—I owe the story to Mrs Alexander Whyte, whose family has long been

united with the Haldanes by the closest ties. Many a similar tale could be told. He was so prodigal with gifts of money that it is surprising that he left any estate for Probate at all. His time was always at the disposal of his friends, yet no man's time was more heavily taxed. During the war he wrote an autobiography which he circulated to a few intimate friends in typescript—Lord Rosebery was one, myself another. The record of labour, devoted and devoted not merely ex-officio but privately to the public service, in that autobiography is stupendous—it might truly have been headed with the rubric Morley devotees to a chapter of his 'Life of Gladstone': 'Day's Work of a Giant.' I never sought his counsel without its being given, and given at once. Briefed as a junior in a constitutional case of great magnitude, I wrote asking his advice on certain points; he replied at once fixing an appointment for midnight in that little eyrie at the top of his house which was such an academy of the intellectual life of the world as London had never known before and will never know again, and there he sat with me through the small hours going through every point. His family life was too intimate and sacred a thing to deal with here, and into that inner sanctuary we will not penetrate. Enough to say that no mother ever had a more devoted son. He wrote to her every day of his life. Sometimes, in the very thick of his duties as Lord Chancellor, he would snatch 'a few hours,' as he once wrote to me thence, to be at Auchterarder, a journey of well over four hundred miles—with what pious object there can be no doubt.

One may well ask, of such a character, 'Was he religious?' In the narrower sense of the word, No; in the wider sense, most emphatically, Yes. One of the most saintly men I have ever had the good fortune to call my friend, the late Dr Alexander Whyte, once felicitously described by Lord Rosebery as 'Edinburgh's greatest citizen,' spoke often to me of Lord Haldane with warm affection and high respect. Lately I put the question to Mrs Alexander Whyte whether he was ever a member of Dr Whyte's Church in Edinburgh, 'Free St George's.' The answer was 'No—his mind took too large a range of thought in philosophy for him ever to be an orthodox Presbyterian.' The answer is what one

would have expected. Religion, it has been well said, is distinguished from a philosophical system in that it has the characteristics of intuitive apprehension, and, as a critic of Schopenhauer and a disciple of Hegel, Lord Haldane had no room for intuitions which, in his own language, are not 'mediated by thought.'\* Yet of no public man of our time could it be more truly said than of him that he 'walked with God.' What he understood by God, he who seeks may find in his 'Pathway to Reality' †—in my humble judgment much the best book he ever wrote. Therein the reader will discover a new acceptance in philosophical terms of the doctrine 'The Kingdom of God is within you.' His private life was the perfect harmony of a man who dwelt at peace with his Creator.

To his devoted sister, Miss Elizabeth Haldane, to whose kindness I owe the permission to publish it, Professor Einstein wrote a letter of sympathy which is the best of all epitaphs :

'He was one of the most beautiful and harmonious souls that it has ever been my good fortune to know. With ease and gladness, with the most gracious gladness, he carried through his immense tasks, happy to serve his country and humanity at large. May you in the pain of such a separation find consolation in the fact that his life was perfect in its fulfilment, perfect and complete as though it were a work of art' (*gleich einem Kunstwerk*).

It is when we turn to his public career that we are conscious of a complexity, sometimes an ambiguity, in singular contrast to the endearing simplicity of his private life. Lord Morley found the secret of Mr Gladstone in a certain 'dualism' which was just as evident in Morley himself. And so with Lord Haldane. Almost it might be said of him that he lived, intellectually speaking and in the best sense of the words, a double life. In my archives I have an old and rare cartoon by 'Spy' of young Mr Haldane as he then was, with the cunning artist's sub-title 'A Hegelian Politician.' A Hegelian politician ! It sounds like a contradiction in terms, and

\* 'The Reign of Relativity,' p. 303.

† Book III, Lecture vi. Also, more summarily, in chap. xviii of 'The Reign of Relativity.' And, more particularly, 'The Calling of the Preacher,' in 'Selected Addresses and Essays' (1928), pp. 190-217.

so it often was. And it was in his efforts to resolve the contradiction into a 'higher unity' that he often failed and, in failing, became the victim of misunderstanding. His politics never coloured his philosophy, which was always Hegelianism pure and undefiled, but his philosophy often discoloured his politics. Everything, I think, in his political career, including the very form of his approach to political audiences, can be traced back to this. One evening, at Lady Horner's, during the thick of Mr Lloyd George's 'Victory' election—it was on Dec. 11, 1918—I asked him what he thought of it all with its catchwords of 'Search their pockets,' 'Hang the Kaiser,' and the rest of it. 'The trouble with Lloyd George,' he gravely replied, 'is that he thinks in images, not in concepts.' The criticism carries with it the explanation of why Mr Lloyd George is a success on the platform and equally of why Lord Haldane was not. The common man lives on the low level, as the idealist philosophers regard it, of 'perceptual construction,' finding expression in images, whereas Lord Haldane was always trying to raise him to the level of 'pure thought.' He thought aloud on the hustings even as he thought in silence in his study. His audience sometimes wondered what he meant, and, as all philosophy begins in wonder, I can conceive of his asking himself, during the speech itself, the same question. There is a story told of the late Duke of Devonshire, when he was the Marquis of Hartington, that he yawned in the middle of his own quite successful maiden speech in the Commons and, on being remonstrated with by a friend, replied, 'Well, but it was a very dull speech.' I can imagine Lord Haldane, on being told by some of his auditors, after certain of his speeches, that they wondered what he meant, meeting them with the retort, 'So do I.' He despised metaphor, which, when infused by passion, is the secret of all great oratory, and he was neither metaphorical nor passionate.

In his 'Pathway to Reality' he reproaches T. H. Green with having been seduced into the use of metaphors, adding, 'they are always dangerous things.' The student of his works can read whole chapters of him—most notably in 'The Reign of Relativity'—so abstract that not a single metaphor illuminates their pages. Only once, if I recollect rightly, does he essay an image in

'The Pathway to Reality.' It is when, expounding the 'universal' concept of 'a' table as distinct from the 'particular' image of 'the' table, he points out that the wood out of which the carpenter fashioned it would have had another aspect before the artisan had hewed, sawn, and planed it, and 'might still, like the Rod of Tannhäuser, develop and burst into blossom.' It was his one excursion into metaphor, and when he goes on to explain how a baby learns to recognise a table, we sigh for Mr Bradley's inimitable riot of playful metaphors when criticising a certain metaphysical theory of how a baby comes to know a lump of sugar. But Lord Haldane immediately deserted his metaphor, as though ashamed of such an indiscretion, and proceeded to inform the students at the Gifford Lectures, 'I take a very abstract view of the table.' And a very abstract view he always took not only of *the* table in front of him at a political meeting but of the audience itself. It might even be said, as we shall see, that he took a very abstract view of the Great War, as abstract in one respect as the view which Goethe and Hegel took of the catastrophe of Jena. True, all idealist philosophers are abstract, but then they do not engage in politics. All of them are dispassionate, but then they do not descend into the arena of democracy which is nothing if not the playground of passion. The result was that Lord Haldane often showed not only a quite curious and, to himself, dangerous insensibility to the emotions of the people, but that he discussed situations fraught with the most frightful consequences to the life of the nation—on two notable occasions, one in March 1915, the other in May 1926—with an abstraction, a detachment, and an apparent indifference which he was very far from feeling, but which gave his enemies the opportunity to blaspheme. On such occasions he reminded one of Bradley's terrific epigram about the finality of metaphysical inquiry as ending in the conclusion that 'this is the best of all possible worlds and every particular thing in it is a necessary evil.'

He was not unconscious of the danger, to use Hegel's own words, of the study of philosophy begetting 'heartless intellects.' Philosophy pays, he wrote in his Gifford Lectures, for moving in the region of abstract thought, by being 'cold and lifeless.' It was the secret alike of

his strength and of his weakness. One of his women friends—and no man had friends at once more dear and more devoted among the best of women—writing to me lately of his fortitude in the adversity of the war, says, with a flash of insight, ‘I think he displayed almost too much fortitude.’ One can easily imagine with what biting scorn and devastating irony such pragmatist minds as Lord Birkenhead and Mr Lloyd George would have turned and rent their detractors if, having created and launched forth the British Expeditionary Force, they had been defamed in the early days of the war as Lord Haldane was defamed. But that was not Lord Haldane’s way. He was as incapable of replying to personal attacks as he was incapable of making them. In all this there was a certain grandeur. But this impassivity was not without its dangers. The most compassionate of men in private life, he was either incapable of being moved by the great tragedy of the war or, much more probably, incapable of giving expression to the emotion. Of this aspect I will give some examples later on. Often his conversation during that long agony gave me the impression that, to put it paradoxically, although as anxious as any one else to win the war, and indeed the true victor of it, his heart was not in it. Rather perhaps, I should say, his imagination had not risen to it. On Sept. 10, 1914, when speaking of the war as likely to be ‘over by Christmas’—a view, let it be remembered, which was shared by nearly every one except Kitchener and, most of all, by the officers at the front \*—he spoke to me of the peace negotiations as if they were going to be a mere resumption, with himself as the instrument of negotiation, of a state of things which had, in fact, already passed away. In this his German ‘obsession,’ for it was nothing less, no doubt played a part. He never realised that the Germany of his intellectual adoration had never existed. The most acute contemporary critic of Germany, himself a German and a German Jew with all the extraordinary powers of observation and analysis characteristic of his race, wrote in 1919: ‘A people of poets and writers we have never been, any more than the Jews are a race of prophets, the

\* It must be remembered that up till Sept. 15 the Western flank of both belligerents lay open and an outflanking movement on the Aisne was regarded as perfectly possible.

French or the Dutch a race of painters, or the inhabitants of Königsberg citizens of the world of Pure Reason.' \*

But there is a deeper explanation. Lord Haldane viewed the war, I think, as he viewed everything else, *sub specie æternitatis*. He viewed it from the bleak altitudes of the Absolute, that glacial region, that 'pure ether' of the intelligence in which all the contradictions of our daily life and of mere 'Appearance' are resolved into the 'Reality' of a unity which, to less tutored minds, passeth all understanding. He knew that peace must come some day and with his far vision he was always prepared for it. With this end in view, he wished to avoid all exacerbation of the mighty conflict. When Germany had blazed a trail of horror with fire and sword through Belgium, he was opposed to the institution of the Bryce Committee to inquire into these things, although, if he ever read the German 'White Book,' he could not but have been convinced, as minds so 'pacifist' as Bryce, so equable as Herbert Fisher, so judicial as Sir Frederick Pollock, were to be convinced, by that strangely disingenuous plea of confession and avoidance, and by other evidence, that appalling things had been done upon the earth. I have, I think, read all his public utterances during the war, and while the 'will to conquer' is undoubtedly there, never once have I found therein a word of condemnation of Germany either in the inception of the war or in the conduct of it. At a time when spirits so restrained as Asquith and Lansdowne and Rosebery were eloquent in their condemnation of the violation of Belgium; when the most secluded of voices, the voice of Lord Rosebery rang out in passionate protest against the *hostis humani generis*; when a mind as hard as steel, the mind of Lord Balfour, was moved, by the sinking of a hospital ship in the Channel by a German submarine, to exclaim, 'Brutes they are, and brutes they remain,' Lord Haldane said not a word. It may be, indeed, that he felt—and rightly—that after July 1915 everything he might say, one way or the other, would only be the object of renewed and bitter misconstruction. Therefore he turned, as we shall see, to the 'reconstruction' to come. That he deplored these things I cannot doubt. That he thought

\* The late Walter Rathenau in 'Die Neue Gesellschaft' (Berlin, 1919), p. 58.

them a mere passing phase in a Germany gone mad with the lust of conquest and the fear of 'Einkreisung' I know. But this most humanitarian of men was almost supra-human in his purely intellectual construction and god-like contemplation of a Universe which persists through time and change, through peace and war, through joy and anguish. There is a sentence in the 'Pathway to Reality' which is the key to his whole outlook both then and at all other times :

'The Mind may *withdraw itself* from everything external and from its own externality, its very existence ; it can submit to infinite *pain*, the negation of its individual immediacy ; in other words, it can keep itself affirmative in this negativity and possess its own identity' (p. 126).

With pain, no doubt with infinite pain, the Hegelian philosopher could withdraw himself from the externality of 'the lurid flow of terror and insane distress' of a world embattled, but for so complete a mastery over emotion a price must be paid. And he paid it. Lord Haldane lacked passion, nay, he despised it. And, therefore, mighty though his intellect was, he never moved the hearts of the multitude. Did not the Goethe whom he had almost made his own, claiming to interpret the baffling enigma of the Second Part of 'Faust,' remind us :

'Denn es muss vom Herzen gehen  
Was auf Herzen wirken soll' ? \*

None the less, when the hour for instant decision and quick action struck, Lord Haldane, as I disclosed in the letter to the Press of July 9, 1915, referred to above, did not hesitate a moment. What I wrote then I wrote from first-hand knowledge—in other words, from what Lord Morley had told me. Alone among his colleagues, with the exception of Asquith and Grey, Haldane appreciated the reality and imminence of the German peril. While timid, opportunist, and speculative minds in the Cabinet were searching everywhere for a loophole to 'stay out of it' under the amazing delusion that the issues of France and of Belgium could be separated—a separation which every one with the least glimmer of military intelligence

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\* Prosaically translated : 'He who would work upon men's hearts must through his heart approach them.'

must have known to be impossible—Lord Haldane was all for war. Only the fact that Germany did what every military student knew she would do, namely, strike through Belgium, and that one of the most noble figures of the war, the King of the Belgians, refused to purchase immunity at the price of honour, only this saved a schism in the Cabinet and determined the attitude of Mr Lloyd George and his followers. The action of Belgium saved Mr Lloyd George and many another politician. It is one of the grimmest ironies of history that the statesman who, at the critical hour, was all for war was driven out of public life for not being sufficiently war-like, while the other, who was all for peace, found in the war itself his political salvation. Everything as to Lord Haldane's attitude that I disclosed early in the war has been confirmed by the post-war revelations of his colleagues.\* I think that the verdict of history has already acquitted 'with honour,' as we used to say in the Army, Lord Haldane of the slightest failure of duty in those fateful days. It would be almost unnecessary, I think, to raise the question now but for the fact that Lord Beaverbrook, in a vivid book, has recently declared that Lord Haldane was against the despatch of the British Expeditionary Force. Lord Beaverbrook, whose good faith I do not impugn, may have been impelled to say this by his affection for Mr Bonar Law, of whom he was the loyal and devoted friend, and it was Mr Bonar Law, as Lord Grey and Lord Oxford have revealed to us, who demanded the retirement of Lord Haldane in April 1915. The memory of Mr Bonar Law has therefore much to answer for. But Lord Beaverbrook's astounding statement is, to my mind, quite incredible. He advances no evidence except 'a letter written by one Conservative leader to another.' The letter is not disclosed, neither are the names of the correspondents given. Anyone who remembers the military controversies before the war on the issue of 'National Service' as against Lord Haldane's principle of voluntary service,† still more any one who

\* See, for example, 'Lord Grey's Reminiscences,' vol. III (Popular Edition), pp. 221, etc.; Mr Churchill, 'The World Crisis,' vol. I, pp. 101, etc.; Lord Morley's 'Memorandum,' pp. 4 and 9.

† As to all this see a book, which is still the classic of its kind, 'Compulsory Service' (1911), by General Sir Ian Hamilton, and the Introduction thereto by Lord Haldane.

has the slightest recollection of Lord Haldane's definition of the functions of the Territorials and the Regular Army respectively, will find this new charge against him as inexplicable as it is incredible. But there is evidence of the most decisive kind against it. A few days ago I asked a distinguished lady, a common friend of Lord Grey's and my own, what she thought of this amazing statement. She replied, 'Lord Grey told me at Fallodon in 1914, in the most positive way, that Haldane, *from the very beginning*, had been all for sending out the Expeditionary Force as soon as possible.' As Lord Grey has, in the beautiful obituary tribute he paid to his friend, since said the same thing, and even more emphatically in public,\* I need make no excuse for this quotation. In the said tribute Lord Grey has declared, 'When the crisis came he *alone* among civilians, according to my recollection, was at once unreservedly for sending the whole of the Expeditionary Force abroad immediately.' Lord Grey might, if he had liked, have carried his revelations a step further. Not only were all the 'civilians' for nursing the Expeditionary Force to defend our shores, but so even were some of the soldiers. I have high authority for saying that Lord Roberts, who, as we now know, was called in by the Cabinet, wished to hold the Expeditionary Force back, believing then, as he did, in the possibility of immediate invasion. As for Lord Kitchener, invasion was to him, as a former member of the Army Council recently expressed it to me, an 'obsession' to the very end.

Such, then, was the decisive part played against Germany in the critical hour of our destiny by the statesman who was accused of being 'pro-German.' It is indeed an irony that many of his former detractors on this count are now far more 'pro-German' after the war than he ever was before it. More than this, Lord Haldane, if he had returned to his old office as Minister of War, might, quite conceivably, have enabled us to win the war far earlier than it actually was won. I have in mind, of course, the policy pursued by Lord Kitchener in regard to the creation of the new Armies. That creation was, indeed, a mighty achievement. But Lord Kitchener knew little of the Territorials and thought even less. Had Lord Haldane returned to the War Office he would un-

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\* The 'Times,' Aug. 24, 1928.

questionably have done what Sir Ian Hamilton,\* Mr Winston Churchill,† Lord Ypres (with whom I had a conversation on the subject in October 1916), and many another thought we should have done, namely, embodied the new volunteers in the *cadres* of the Territorial Army which had itself, under the Haldane scheme, been organised from top to bottom on identical lines with the Regular Army. At the same time the frightful congestion at the War Office, resulting from the centralised control of the new Armies, might have been avoided by making use of the County Territorial Associations, whom Kitchener completely ignored. The Territorial Force itself might have been used as drafts of second-line troops to reinforce the British Expeditionary Force in the field, from the very outset. This, with the exception of one or two London Territorial regiments, was never done. I will not pursue a subject which still bristles with controversy, but I will disclose here for the first time what was the view of the situation at the Front, when I was attached to G.H.Q., during the first year of the war. Of the munitions controversy, in which Lord Haldane found himself involved with Mr Lloyd George in July 1915, something more will be disclosed below. Discussing the situation at G.H.Q. with the very highest authority in the matter of effectives, on May 11, 1915, I was told the following :

'The military staff of the War Office are all failures who do nothing but suspect and obstruct us. There isn't a soldier among them, though one of them is admirably fitted to run Harrod's Stores. . . . Only a man who had actually commanded a company can understand our problem out here. They won't agree to our request that our weakened battalions—many of them are down to 200—be brought up to strength with second-line drafts of Territorials. Their excuse is that the third line must be ready first. But the third line will take six or twelve months to train. Meanwhile the remains of our battalions will have to be scrapped and that is utterly foolish. A company Commander with only 40 men left would far rather make up his company with new men—the old would leaven the new—than have an entirely new company which he would have to train all over again.'

\* 'The Soul and Body of an Army,' pp. 77-78, etc.

† 'The World Crisis,' vol. i, p. 235.

And again on Jan. 16, 1916 :

' If Kitchener goes on as he's doing, he'll lose us the war. It's the same old trouble about drafts. The London division is 5000 under strength and here he is insisting on raising a second one at home. His passion seems to be able to say that he raised 60 Divisions. I called on him the other day and found him so querulous and lachrymose that I felt quite sorry for him. He kept on saying "I can't do it. I can't do it." To cheer him up I said, "I'm glad you are looking so well," whereupon he said, "I'm not well at all." *He's trying to do too much and he'll kill himself.*'

The last sentence, with all its pathos, explains everything. I will only say that, in my humble judgment, Lord Haldane, with his great gift for delegating subsidiary things to subsidiary persons, and working upon the basis of the Territorial Cadres, would have been as good a Minister for War in war as he had unquestionably been in peace. But more of this later on.

This was not to be. As I have said, he accepted his enforced retirement with a stoic dignity. And one night (Dec. 17, 1917) when dining with me alone, he reviewed the situation, looking before and after. Here is a summary of the conversation as I wrote it down at the time in a kind of *précis*, not in dialogue :

' Up till the summer of 1913 the peace party in Germany, represented by Bethmann-Hollweg, was in the ascendant.\* I talked with him in February 1912, and together we planned a kind of universal Peace on the lines of my address at Montreal.† . . . I got my ideas of mobilisation and territorial organisation † from Germany and of an Imperial General Staff from Moltke's experiments before 1870--the former when I went to Berlin. I sat for 10 days in the

\* This statement, like so many others of Lord Haldane's, has since been borne out, long after, by German sources themselves. See, for example, the striking revelations in vol. 31 of 'Die Grosse Politik der Europäischer Kabinette 1871-1914' (Berlin, 1926), which reveals the dual diplomacy of Germany before the war and, in particular, records the German Secretary of State's remonstrance with the Kaiser against the 'unjustifiable hatred and mistrust' of England conveyed in a report of the German naval attaché in London in 1912.

† 'The Higher Nationality' (1913): see pp. 37, etc.

‡ This remark refers, of course, to the territorial character of the German Army Corps distribution, and not to our Territorial force, to which there never was, though now there may be, anything corresponding in Germany.

Kriegsministerium, sitting in the War Minister's own chair, catechising all the heads of the Departments, while Ellison took notes. . . . I reckoned on mobilising the B.E.F. in twelve days; we did it in nine. All that had been already arranged down to the last detail in the "War Book." \* Lord Roberts's idea of military preparation was a purely Home Defence force, proceeding on the assumption of the "Blue Water" school and that England would be invaded—he had no conception of an Expeditionary Force and thought nothing of the General Staff, he thought it altogether too continental. But I realised that our frontier was the East of France. The Navy's idea was, exclusively, a battle in the North Sea. At the time of Agadir they objected that they could not transport an Expeditionary Force. They wanted a "scrap" on the sea and to throw just two Divisions into German territory with no other artillery than ship's guns which in those days had no capacity for shrapnel. I pointed out to them that the Germans had a railway system which would envelop the two Divisions with a million men in a few hours.'

At this point I interjected, 'Did you tell them what Bismarck once said in the Prussian Landtag when asked by a deputy, at the time of the Schleswig-Holstein affair, what he would do if the British Army disembarked on the German coast?' Haldane replied, 'No, what did he say?' To which query I gave the answer, 'He replied, amid roars of laughter, that he would send for the police.'

Lord Haldane proceeded :

'The Navy had no General Staff. I offered to go to the Admiralty for a year and create one, but the pushful Winston went instead, promising to create it himself. But little was done after all.'

'When the Kaiser came over here, he and I came to an agreement about the Baghdad Railway—we were to have the Southern end and a "gate" on to the Persian Gulf. We

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\* How true that was the reader may learn for himself from that admirable book 'The Official History of the War—Military Operations,' vol. i, p. 14, where General Edmondson, speaking of the plans for mobilisation, writes, 'The distribution of the consequent duties among the various departments, and *among even individual officials*, was arranged in the minutest detail so that there should be no delay and no confusion. All essential documents were prepared beforehand, so that they might be signed instantly, *the very room in which the signatures should take place being fixed*, and a plan showing its exact position attached to the documents.'

hammered all this out at a German "Cabinet" meeting in London, the Kaiser saying to me, "I make you a member." But Bülow spoilt all that afterwards.

Thence he turned to discuss more domestic issues:

'The explanation of the Coalition in the spring of 1915 is that Asquith was weak. He succumbed to the pressure of Lloyd George and Bonar Law. The first I knew of it was the P.M.'s message saying he was going to create a new Ministry. As for the "purge" of last November (1916), both — and — betrayed Asquith, the former seduced by the offer of —, the latter by a present of the —.'

And on Lord Morley:

'His is a purely negative mind. I rather doubt if "C.B." (Campbell-Bannermann) reciprocated Morley's admiration. Anyhow he kept him out of the secrets of the entente with France. But Morley must have been very dense, for he was present at the meeting of the Committee of Imperial Defence at which General Grierson and others expounded the plan of military co-operation with France. As for the Anglo-Russian entente, Morley's memory is all at fault—he never did object to it.

'I have plenty to occupy me. I am writing two new books on Philosophy.\* Then there's the Judicial Committee. There is Education. And I'm serving on various Government Committees—"Research," "Coal Conservation," and the "Reconstitution of all the Government Departments." "All?" I asked in some stupefaction. "Yes," replied Lord Haldane rather mistily; "they must all be reconstituted on a vertical scheme, as opposed to a horizontal one, with a 'General Staff' at the head of each. Thinking must be separated from Administration."† Then there is the reorganisation of Industry—with educated foremen and a gradation of highly paid workmen. I'm working that out with the Labour Party. *The Liberal party is dead*, so is the Unionist. *The future belongs to the Labour party.*'

The last sentence of that allocution shows whither his mind was travelling politically as early as 1917, just six years before the Labour party came into power and at a

\* Presumably, the 'Reign of Relativity,' which appeared in 1921, and the 'Philosophy of Humanism,' which appeared in 1922.

† The results of this were made manifest later in the Report of the Machinery of Government Committee (Cd. 9230 of 1918).

time when everybody else would have thought such a political development incredible. It was not a case of sudden conversion like that of Paul on the road to Damascus. Few political changes ever are. He had long known and appreciated, like his friend Lord Morley, Mr Ramsay MacDonald and his qualities of mind and heart. He had been the friend of the Sidney Webbs, the Socratic midwives of the Labour party, for many years. He had always been politically heterodox. Early in the 'eighties he had disturbed the 'unco guid' of both the old political parties in Edinburgh by giving a breakfast-party to meet John Dillon, whom he had introduced to Dr Alexander Whyte. More than thirty years before the great enfranchisement came about, he had introduced, as a young and 'private' member, a bill into the Commons in favour of Women's Suffrage. His mind was indeed much too original, his spirit too creative, his sympathies too catholic, to fit into the categories of party thought. I think there can be very little doubt that what really attracted him to the Labour party was the idea that they were virgin soil which could be sown with new ideas and, by their freedom from tradition, would be ready to accept a re-organisation of the State from top to bottom. Lord Haldane had, indeed, a truly Prussian passion for organisation. He idealised 'the State' no less than Hegel. He loved a bureaucrat, forgetting that there is nothing the average Englishman, with his instinct for personal liberty and freedom from administrative interference, detests so much. Was he then a Socialist? That term may mean anything or nothing, but he was certainly prepared for the 'nationalisation' of a good many industries, such as Coal Supply and Transport,\* with all the vast conversion of workmen into civil servants which those schemes would involve. When I once asked him why he had persuaded his friend, Sir Ernest Cassel, to

\* Possibly a great many others. See pp. 36, etc. ('Production'), of his Report on Machinery of Government. In this Report, which is at once one of the ablest surveys of the central government of England and one of the most revolutionary in its proposals, he recommended the complete 'scrapping' of Secretaries of State and all the rest of it, to be replaced by new Ministries of every conceivable kind with a 'Ministry of Intelligence' external to each of them which was to be a kind of Ministry of Pure Thought.

settle by his will large sums in trust on a certain educational institution in London of a peculiar type (some six of whose teaching staff stood at the last General Election as Labour candidates), instead of diverting some of the golden stream to the object of his (Haldane's) first affections, namely, University College, he replied, 'Our object is to make this institution a place to raise and train the bureaucracy of the future Socialist State.' Hence, also, no doubt, his interest in the Institute of Public Administration. Hence also, no doubt, his solitary voice among all the law lords in favour of the notorious clause 67 of the Rating Bill of 1928, by which a great Government Department sought power to administer imperative interrogatories to His Majesty's judges and to make of them tame 'lions under the throne' of the encroaching Bureaucracy.

J. H. MORGAN.

(*To be continued.*)

## SOME RECENT BOOKS.

*Gladstone and Palmerston—Pepys and Wesley—Alexander Wolkoff—Richard Rolle—The Trial of Socrates—The Soul and Sibyls—Public Men and Poets—Mr Galsworthy's Bibliography—Macaulay's Lays—Eastern Story—Siam—Irish Bogs—Paternity—Max and 'Poor Women.'*

MR PHILIP GUEDALLA has a rollicking pen. Whenever he bestrides Pegasus the winged horse prances as if his feet were shod with jazz. It is often exhilarating ; and sometimes history. A year ago Mr Guedalla wrote a successful study of Lord Palmerston. He has followed it with the first of a series of the letters which passed between the great Pam and his colleagues and other contemporaries ; beginning with the correspondence exchanged with Mr Gladstone in 1851 and for the fifteen following years. In his letters Palmerston was almost entirely the sagacious and serious statesman ; we see there nothing of the elderly buck, with the straw in his mouth, who at times tried the patience of Queen Victoria sorely ; while there is barely a shadow of humour ; a circumstance inexplicable, considering his irrepressible spirits and playfulness ; until we remember that Mr Gladstone was at the other end of the pillar-box, and before his sense of duteousness butterfly moth would have been impossibly out of place. The letters in '**Gladstone and Palmerston**' (Gollancz) are a helpful contribution to the detail of the Victorian period. The uncertainties of the Second Empire ; the determined building of the new ironclads by the French ; burials under churches ; the consumption of beer in public-houses ; the use of captured Russian guns for the metal parts of the Albert Memorial ; such were some of the concerns of this correspondence. We are, however, neglecting for too long the brightly assertive editor-author on his gallivanting steed. He needs must tilt a lance at other biographers, and especially at '**Monyppenny**' for his '**Life of Beaconsfield**' in six volumes. That Mr Buckle, who wrote four and a half of those '**six lumbering pantechicons**' is ignored by Mr Guedalla, is only apiece with the modern biography which seems mainly determined to reveal its subject by flashlight at some extremely personal moment in order

to provide an occasion for satire. By which method is History better served : by the careful and readable record of a career which fairly displays and explains the man and the statesman, or by the impressionist sketch in which the subject is a peg to show-off the author's smartness ? Possibly both. It depends upon taste. Mr Buckle's six authoritative pantehicons will rumble down the reader's highway so long as Disraeli remains a fascinating figure of history : and possibly, Mr Guedalla's trumpeting circus, with its many appended lorries of printed correspondence, will traverse the same roads and distances. History is a lady to be wooed in many ways ; a truth for Mr Guedalla to remember when next he inserts his left foot in his stirrup of brass.

Pepys is richly entitled to the place he has now been given in the 'English Men of Letters' series ; and as necessarily the study of him as a writer is limited to his genius as a diarist—the supreme diarist—it was a happy as well as judicious thought to ask Mr Arthur Ponsonby, who has made a special and extensive study of printed diaries, to do the work. '*Samuel Pepys*' (Macmillan) is a successful volume. The method of its treatment could not be conventional ; and Mr Ponsonby has gone to original lengths to bring out the truth that Pepys was underrated by his contemporaries, who, of course, knew nothing of the Diary ; was ignored by the generations of the succeeding century ; and was only recently discovered when the Diary was made familiar to readers, when he came into his own not merely as a literary power but as a great Naval Administrator. Through his secret writings—Mr Ponsonby answers securely the old question as to whether or not Pepys wrote his shorthand for posterity to read—he divulged himself, to the most trivial meanness. Unique among diarists, he set down frankly everything about himself ; and at any rate knew himself to be at moments a pretty sad mortal, even while he strutted the world in his proud clothing and fine circumstances, and dabbled in music and the other arts. Yet it is impossible not to like, even to honour, the man : for with all his impossibilities of character and conduct he was an engaging fellow who did his duty by the navy and the country.

A sufficient life of John Wesley has yet to be written,

and it is high time that sympathetic justice was done by an adequate biographer to that inspiring spirit and most human man, with his weaknesses, strengths, perversities of temper, and exalted devotion, who redeemed England in one of her darkest periods, and through his Evangelical Revival led the way to social and religious reform and indirectly preserved the country from revolution. Mr J. E. Rattenbury in '*Wesley's Legacy to the World*' (Epworth Press) has written a valuable book which the coming complete biographer will find suggestive and helpful ; for this author, with all his sympathy, has not hesitated to notice the flaws of his hero ; indeed, with true art, he has used them to enhance the brightness of the saint. With truth as well as art this has been done, for was there ever an effectual saint who had not risen in some respects from out of the shadows ? In Wesley, as Mr Rattenbury well brings out, a natural sensibility to female influence was sublimated into a passion for God ; and it is because the beauty of his religious life came from his naturalness that Wesley was, is, and is to be enduringly, a power for good in the world, with his religion of common-sense, and the simple want of worldliness, illustrated by the truth that 'he accumulated a fortune by the sale of books, and left behind him —a teapot.'

After a slow beginning and a little odd English the '*Memoirs of Alexander Wolkoff-Mouromtsoff*' (Murray) proves an excellently-written and fascinating volume ; for the author, better known probably to the general public as A. N. Roussoff, the water-colour painter, was a man who through his family connections and varied gifts, as well as the attractive personality which reveals itself in his pages, became the familiar friend of many interesting people. At the background of his passages with Wagner, Eleonora Duse, Liszt, Bunsen, the Tolstoys, and others who have contributed to modern progress, he reveals the troubles of a land-owner in Russia ; for inheriting his family estate in the days of the Tsardom, when there was plenty of bureaucratic tyranny to darken the patriarchal benevolence of the rural nobility, he witnessed the gradual decadence of the peasants, as revolutionary ideas, aided by the failure of the war with Japan, spread and led to their moral and social unsettle-

ment, and so made infinitely easier the devastating triumph of Lenin and his company. Alexander Wolkoff, who was fortunate both in the spheres of science and art, touched life confidently at many points ; but no one had more reason than he to recognise the irony which followed the ruin of Russia. Princesses taking in washing ; the nobility serving in shops, running lodging-houses, selling matches in the streets, suffering in a splendid silence. Theirs is an heroic story, for whoever squeals over the troubles of this Period, it is not they.

In our October number we commended, with enforced brevity, Miss Hope Emily Allen's treatise on the 'Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle' ; and now there comes to us an even more welcome work devoted to the mystic of the fourteenth century whose memory had almost faded out, but who, thanks to the recent study mainly of a number of ladies, will take his place surely now among the English great in religious mysticism and lyric poetry. Miss Frances M. M. Cowper's 'The Life of Richard Rolle' (Dent) is both full and delightful. It contains also the lyrics in the vernacular which, considering the period in which they were written, for lightness, airiness and gladness of flight entitle them to soar in the same poetic sky as is rich with the song of Shelley's 'Skylark.'

'My dearworthy darling, sa dolefully dight,  
Sa straitly up-right, strained on the rood ;  
For thy mickle meekness, thy mercy, thy might,  
Thou bete all my bales with bote of thy blood.'

With justified imagination and conjecture, and the few available facts, Miss Cowper has written a trustworthy biography and appreciation of the Hermit ; and incidentally proves that he was no more the author of 'The Prick of Conscience' so generally ascribed to him, than as it is subtly, nicely put, the 'Novum Organum' is like 'As You Like It.'

Perhaps it is appropriate for Dr Coleman Phillipson's study of 'The Trial of Socrates' (Stevens) to be issued by a Law Publisher, in the severe format appropriate to a legal thesis ; but in view of the character of the work it is unusual. The book is more than its title suggests, being in fact also a thoughtful study of the life and personality of the wisest of mortal men. It is, however,

so prudent in its judgments and estimates, so rich in suggestion, so happy and balanced in expression, so subtly true in its revelations of the humanity and spiritual exaltedness of Socrates, that its formal appearance is as nothing. Possibly in his ultimate comparisons of Socrates with Jesus and the Buddha, Dr Phillipson passes some distance beyond the necessary reality ; but otherwise his feet remain stedfast on the Athenian earth, and he tells the long and moving story of Socrates, on the bases of the authorities and with generally safe conjecture, in a manner which brings the great drama vividly before our eyes and heart. The inadequacy of the five hundred judges, the meanness of the three accusers, the fidelity of the beloved disciples, the mistakes as well as the superbness of Socrates in his defence, the character of the voting and the verdict ; the simple pathos, dignity, and beauty of the last days and hours of the imprisonment and death are admirably told. The work is well-documented, and if the scholars differ over this or that view, as expressed by Dr Phillipson, they are given chapter and verse as well as reasons for all that he has said.

What is the Soul ?—a question asked often by our grandfathers and answered by them often in sorrow and anger. We belong to a more sophisticated—and we venture to say, more spiritual—age, and generally have left the tremendous problem for settlement possibly elsewhere. Mr F. K. Chaplin has, however, been courageous enough to tackle it in the light of modern philosophy, theology, and psychology in a book of brilliance and brilliant brevity, '*The Soul*' (Williams and Norgate) ; and has reached at least a comparative conclusion ; which is that, in the process of the Making of Man, the human body and personality will probably progress so far beyond its stage in this hour that out of the future will come a 'subtle body' from which may evolve 'the Religious Body so prominent in some religions.' He has written his little book with a broad mind and liberal heart and an admirable lucidity ; and for its less than 20,000 words has studied the contributions of the thought of well over two hundred serious volumes. Dr Edwyn Bevan, one of our supreme scholars in this department of research and wisdom, follows on much

the same quest in his survey of some ancient theories of revelation and inspiration, '*Sibyls and Seers*' (Allen and Unwin). He studies the evidence for a spirit-world so far as it was revealed, or its revelation was attempted, in the Hebrew Scriptures and the Greek philosophy; and after making careful examination is compelled to the conclusion that we are no nearer to a settlement of the mystery for all the hopes, fears, and imaginings of the ancient inquirers. Although the eternal question remains, and may ever remain unanswerable, like the riddle of the Sphinx, the manner in which Dr Bevan has marshalled his results is very attractive, and the book is one for the shelf of re-readable volumes.

The present age likes things to be concentrated 'with a kick,' or in tabloid. In medicine we have the tabloid without the kick—in cocktails the opposite. Often in biographical sketches we seem to get both. Mr William Martin in his '*Statesmen of the War in Retrospect*' (Jarrolds) gives us a good example—twenty-four statesmen of fifteen countries in about eight or nine pages each. The tabloid is compounded of wide knowledge, terseness, epigram, skill in summing-up, and downright opinions. The result is readable and interesting, even though sometimes the judgments may not be altogether justified. M. Poincaré and Mr Lloyd George may not be flattered, but friends of Cardinal Mercier and President Wilson will be pleased, as well as those of President Masaryk and Dr Benes. We pass to a kindred work. As Mr A. P. Nicholson truly says, there has long been a vogue in books of character sketches of our public men, and there would be little chance in these revealing times for the warts of Oliver not to be detected and painted in by these searching literary analysts; but it was a little hard of him in the preface to these studies of '*The Real Men in Public Life*' (Collins) to criticise his predecessors in this department of portrayal—we had nearly said fiction; for all essays of the kind are comparative, the personal equation necessarily being potent; and somehow, from the writers that he names, we generally had discerned more clearly the personalities, their features, idiosyncrasies, weaknesses, prejudices, and strengths, which they displayed, than he has done. His sketches are more general, possibly more gracious than

theirs ; but the subjects are rather written round and distantly described than shown as breathing people. The best of his gallery belong to the Liberal camp : Mr Runciman, Sir Herbert Samuel, and Sir John Simon ; but possibly the shrewdest sketch is that of Mr Churchill, 'a man, not so much of character, as of characteristics.'

Mr Coulson Kernahan is the kindest of literary judges ; and it is rather a relief in days when many, especially of the 'younger critics' as they are called, seem to think that the main purpose of reviewing is to be somehow bright, even though wrong, to read the opinions of one who can frankly and justly appreciate. In '**Five More Famous Living Poets**' (Butterworth) he brings out the truth of the strengths of Mr Davies, Mr de la Mare, an especially attractive study, Miss Kaye-Smith, Sir Owen Seaman, and Sir William Watson ; and, with his illuminating illustrations from their works, has made an interesting book. Ending this reading with the study of Sir William Watson, and moved as still we may be by his sonorous magnificent lines, the pity asserts itself: Why was not he made Tennyson's successor in the Laureateship, instead of 'Little Alfred'? Lord Salisbury's careless choice was a betrayal of the Muses. There follows a volume unsurpassed of its kind. No greater tribute can be offered to a living author than for the bibliography of his works to be compiled and printed. It is the surest foretaste of immortality available. And never has a more thorough, sumptuous, well-established bibliography of any man been produced than this which is devoted to the Works of Mr Galsworthy ; with its elaborate system, fine type, stately frontispiece and 'Max' cartoon. Mr H. V. Marrot, at once the bibliographer and the publisher, has done his work well. So vigorous are the prose and verse of Macaulay that it is difficult to believe that his '**Lays of Ancient Rome**' (Longmans) were generally written more than a century ago. They have the zest, verve, energy, 'modernity,' which many a literary modernist would give somebody else's ears to possess. Possibly in the days when we were the shadowy belated fellows of his immortal, impossible schoolboy, we did feel that the spirited fights of Horatius, Lake Regillus, Ivry, and the geographical excitements of 'The Armada' had become too familiar

to thrill ; but the re-reading of them in Mr George Trevelyan's augmented edition has reproduced the old glamour. Great stuff !

Messrs Chapman and Hall have established a new series of the works of ancient oriental literature which appears to have everything to commend it. 'The Treasure House of Eastern Story' is generally edited by Sir E. Denison Ross ; the form and type are dignified and handsome, and it is justified already, at the very beginning, with 'Stories from Sádi's Bustan and Gulistan' and a revised version by Dr L. D. Barnett of Francis Johnson's famous Sanskrit collection of Indian fables and stories, 'The Hitopadesá.' The Persian poet and the Hindu tale-teller externally were as different as men and thinkers could be ; but as Okakura reminded us, Asia is essentially one, and it is not difficult to discern in these humorous tales and words of wholesome counsel a oneness of spiritual insight and outlook. It is impossible in this brevity to do other than generalise, but we can and do heartily recommend this series, which will be necessary to every library of oriental literature, whether private or public. There is something most engaging about Mr Ebbé Kornerup's impressions of 'Friendly Siam' (Putnam). His naïveté and enthusiasm, his instant admiration for all things, compel a liking for him which cannot, however, eliminate the truth that his utter want of discrimination is a drawback. His is one of the few books that are pleasant to read apart from the meaning. What he has to say matters less than the enthusiastic manner, the lucent, glowing style, in which it is said ; but over this doubtless some praise is due to his translator from the Danish, Mr M. Guiterman. The book has colour and something very like glee ; but it makes of the Siamese and their associated peoples in that Asiatic peninsula creatures of dream rather than of flesh and blood.

Major J. W. Seigne has written a book with a purpose. There is far more in 'Irish Bogs' (Longmans) than the title suggests ; for it covers practically the whole province of sport—shooting, fishing, and hunting—and beyond that boldly advertises the Irish Free State as a play-ground for sportsmen. The rivers, lochs, and bogs remain ; and in spite of recent political havoc and terror,

there now will be peace with prosperity to come ; for, the author assures us, a ' better sense of citizenship ' is returning. He rambles along pleasantly, with the help of others, over his broad domain ; and in the way of the literary fisherman tells his occasional stories. The best of them concerns ' Rebel,' the Gordon setter, who discriminated over the good and the bad shots it was his duty to follow. One day he was lent

' to a man who was a very bad shot, and who started the day by missing seven snipe running, in a bog near the railway station. Rebel became more and more fed-up, and in the end made off back to the station with his tail between his legs. He waited there patiently for a train going in the right direction and then jumped into the guard's van. Luckily the guard was an old friend, and left him alone to see what he would do. Rebel lay down quietly in the van until the train arrived at his station, when he jumped out and ran home.'

And now where is your fisherman with his wonderful length of fish ?

Perhaps it was necessary to gild this particular pill, though possibly not ; for the average father, so far as one can tell from the complacent or the worried look that frequently he wears, takes the birth of his offspring with sufficient seriousness. Anyhow K. M. and E. M. Walker, the authors of '**On Being a Father**' (Cape), have administered their medicine with excellent decision and humour ; and have made it additionally or deceitfully attractive by using Miss Violet Guy's clever comic drawings. There are multitudes of guide-books, it seems, for the expectant mother ; but nothing for the poor expectant father, who also needs help through that time of trial. Hence these pages. Under their humorous device the authors shrink from no decent frankness. The facts of Heredity, Fertilisation, Pregnancy, the processes of Birth ; and then the quickening, dawn, and good guidance of the child's intelligence, are studied, and here set down.

There is something curiously fascinating in re-building fantastically the distant past when monsters walked the Earth and there were dragons. It is natural, therefore, that such a master of the ironic and fantastic as Mr Max Beerbohm should fly on the wings of his fancy to the

conditions of 39,000 B.C., when Thia and Thol ran on the grass of the future Hay Hill, and Thia built a wattle dwelling in Soho, and a great dragon was killed and buried fathoms deep in what is now Berkeley Square. The linking together of prehistoric monsters with our modern walks of Mayfair is amusing to others than 'Max'; but somehow his latest literary adventure, '**The Dreadful Dragon of Hay Hill**', (Heinemann) does not quite amuse or convince. Something is wrong with it. The moral is clear that frightening monsters and dour disciplines are, on the whole, beneficent to negligent man; but the humour, the irony, the style of this book are not up to the standard of the inventor of the Happy Hypocrite, Zuleika Dobson, and the superlative Enoch Soames. We conclude with a book of fiction that unquestionably succeeds. Because of its restraint and reality '**Poor Women**' (Scholartis Press) is a moving, and spiritually a beautiful, as well as a clever book. The themes of the five stories by crude or vulgar pens might have been made gross, ugly, repellent; but as Miss Norah Hoult has written them they are simply touching and nobly pitiful. For we all are creatures of circumstance; and those poor women who, through vanity or necessity, having spent their charms foolishly have less than nothing for their comfort afterwards, are pathetic figures. Hunger in loneliness for sympathy and love; the dread of the first wrinkle, the earliest white hair; how trivial may such things seem, yet often they hold the threat of personal tragedy. Every one of the chief characters of these tales is a woman of hopes and passions in some ways unfulfilled. The least sympathetic is Ethel, because of her frank urge to wantonness; yet who has the right to cast a stone at her in her tortured and unsatisfied femininity? The best of the stories is that of '**Mrs Johnson**', who lives on the edge of sordid and absolute want. Her devices to attract pence for a mere livelihood in the face of a hard landlady and the competition of others with better advantages, has its gentle irony, yet pity is the emotion that is mainly evoked. '**Bridget Kiernan**' is also especially excellent; in her mental troubles there is welcome humour.

